



"In this last charge I received a rude blow from a stout fellow on foot, with the butt-end of his musket, which perfectly stunned me, and fetc ed me off from my horse."

(Page 56.)

Memoirs of a Cavalier :

OTHER TALES.

SELECTED AND ABRIDGED FROM THE WORKS

DANIEL DEFOE.

With a Sketch of the Author's Life.

SEELEY, JACKSON, & LALLIDAY, 54 FLEET STREET
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PREFACE.¹⁹

ALTHOUGH the works of De Foe are reckoned at more than two hundred in number, it is upon one or two only that his present fame rests. There can be few persons to whom his "Robinson Crusoe" and "History of the Plague" are not familiar, and probably as few to whom his other works are at all known. Of course, his numerous political pamphlets are interesting only to a small circle of readers; and of his tales, several from their coarseness, both of subject and manner, are quite unfitted for modern circulation. Others, which are not open to any such objection, are of unequal merit; but though perhaps somewhat tedious as a whole, they contain many admirable examples of Defoe's vigorous and graphic style.

The selection which is here presented does not consist of unconnected extracts, but is so arranged as to form three continuous narratives. The first contains nearly the whole of that part of the "Memoirs of a Cavalier," which relates to the civil wars in

England; the other two are abridgments of the "Life and Adventures of Captain Singleton," and the "History of Colonel Jack." These tales have little or no plot, but being simply stories of adventure, are easily abridged by the mere rejection of uninteresting or objectionable matter: the alteration or insertion of a very few words being all that is necessary to preserve a connected narrative.

"Robinson Crusoe" is said by Dr. Johnson to be one of the very few books which the reader wishes had been longer. This little volume of gatherings from other works by the same author may, therefore, not be unwelcome.

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A

SKETCH OF DEFOE'S LIFE.

IN the year 1719, shortly after the publication of "*The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner,*" there appeared another work entitled thus: "*The Life and Strange Adventures of Mr. D—— De F——, of London, Hosier, who has lived above Fifty Years by himself in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain.*" Truth is, at times, as we are told, wilder than fiction. And indeed Mr. Defoe, hosier, had in him the materials of a much more wonderful hero than Robinson Crusoe, mariner. He passed through much more surprising adventures, and lived a life of much more astonishing loneliness. But the mariner has left behind him an immortal autobiography, which everybody reads and is charmed with; while who knows anything of the hosier, except that he was the mariner's amanuensis, so to speak? We conceive a warm

friendship for this mariner in our early childhood. 'We are introduced to him while we are yet but a few steps beyond the threshold of life. The hosier's name, and the mariner's infinite obligations to him, we never hear of till many years afterwards, when we have come to look on the mariner with suspicious eyes, and to hesitate about believing that fine journal of his.

The biography of Mr. Defoe, which we have above mentioned, is in no sense worthy of its subject. Indeed, it is important only as illustrating the repute in which he was held by his contemporaries. It is little better than a tissue of libels, according to the judgment of posterity; but it is a fair sample of the treatment Defoe met with from the men of his own age, and from the men of the next generation too, for many years after all kinds of treatment had become alike to him. He lived in a time of many parties, and was hated and reviled by each one of them, some time or another, in his long life. He was an incredibly unpopular man, and occasionally was overwhelmed by the storms of abuse which burst on his head from every quarter. The title of that life of him, to which we have alluded, probably casts some light on the causes of this universal detestation with which he was regarded. He dared to live "by himself" in the king's arms of North and South Britain, at a period when he who did not ally himself body and soul with some one party, was suspected and assailed by all parties. He dared to maintain the

consistency of his principles at a time when tergiversation was the order of the day. It can be no matter for wonder, therefore, that his contemporaries had but a little liking for him. He was not the man to hold his peace when his indignation was aroused. He never shrunk from proclaiming the most unwelcome truths, in season and out of season. And so his brethren hated him very bitterly.

He began his solitary existence in the year 1661. He was the son of James Foe, a butcher, somewhere in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate. We know very little about this butcher, except what may safely be inferred from our knowledge of the son. The only piece of literature composed by him, that is extant, is a servant girl's character. "Sarah Pierce," the document runs, "lived with us, about fifteen or sixteen years since, about two years; and behaved herself so well that we recommended her to Mr. Cave, that godly minister, which we should not have done, had not her conversation been becoming the gospel. From my lodgings at the Bell, in Broad-street, having left my house in Throgmorton-street, Oct. 10, 1705. Witness my hand, James Foe." We need scarcely say now that Mr. Foe was a dissenter, and a rigid one. We see from the date of this certificate that he had lived to see his son Daniel attain a very eminent position in the world, and make his name very widely known, for good or for evil.

The young Defoe's earliest associations could not have

been of a very satisfactory kind. The decad in which he was born forms no very brilliant passage in our history. Neither at home nor abroad is the prospect of it a cheerful one. It is a fine thing for a country to be ruled over by a merry monarch, especially after a time of strait-laced notions and an enforced sobriety. The little Daniel many a time, undoubtedly, heard the signs of the times discussed by his father and his father's dissenting friends in a tone of intense dissatisfaction. A member of Dr. Annesley's congregation—the doctor was the ejected parson of Cripplegate—would have but very scanty sympathies with the profligacy of the court and the reactionary excesses of the whole nation. The honest Englishman must have groaned deeply that year De Ruyter sailed up the Medway. He had survived a very different order of things. The little son may have stood by his father's side in that dismal June 1667, and seen in the distance, with a child's wonder, the sky reddened with the glare of the ships blazing on the river.

He was but four years of age, when the plague, of which he was destined to be the great historian, broke out. It raged violently in the neighbourhood of his home. He might, perhaps, have a dim recollection of some of those ghastly scenes he so graphically describes. He might just remember hearing the dead-carts go down the streets in the silence of those awful nights, and the hand-bells tolling out their terrible signals. Of the great fire in the following year

he would retain a more vivid remembrance. And so his childhood was passed amongst tremendous spectacles.

He was intended by his parents for the Presbyterian ministry. After being instructed in the rudiments of learning by Dr. Annesley, he was sent, at the age of fourteen, to the Dissenting Academy at Newington, where he remained four years. In his after life he always acknowledged the greatest obligations to Mr. Charles Morton, the then head of that establishment. He went through a course of theology, of political science, of mathematics, of natural philosophy, of logic, geography, and history; and made some acquaintance with the Latin and Greek, and one or two modern languages. "Illiterate as I am," he wrote many years after his school-days in reply to a truculent assault made upon him by Swift, "I have been in my time pretty well master of five languages." It may be doubted, therefore, whether his libellers had the truth on their side when they reproached him with utter ignorance and illiteracy. "His fellow," says Gay of Defoe in 1711, "who had excellent natural parts, but wanted a small foundation of learning, is a lively instance of those wits, who, as an ingenious author says, 'endure but one skinning.'" And Mr. Gay speaks with great moderation, comparatively. We conceive that the real accusation against him was, that he had not been educated at one of the Universities. That was a bright and palmy period for University men. Oxford and Cambridge were supposed for the most part to enjoy the monopoly of

polite education. It was absurd for any one to lay claim to scholarship and erudition who had not thumbed his "*Gradus ad Parnassum*" at those illustrious seminaries. Elegant Latin verses were the passport to a reputation for learning. Alcæus and Sappho had it their own way pretty much. An error in the quantity of a syllable was the most unpardonable *faux pas* a man could commit. Judged by this standard, Defoe, it may be, deserved in respect to his learning all the contumely his contemporaries heaped upon him. His training was of a more practical kind, according with modern notions, we fancy, much more than that other the fashionable system.

The four years of his life that passed between his leaving school and the publication of his first work we know little about but by inference from our knowledge of his character. We may safely infer that in all the stirring questions of the day he took an eager interest. That restless activity of mind, which characterises him throughout all his career so far as we are acquainted with it, could not have allowed him to remain an uninterested and idle witness of the scenes passing around him. In 1683 he wrote "*The Treatise against the Turks*," which work shows us at once with what earnest eyes he regarded the events then transpiring. It is informed by that spirit of strong common-sense, which from the beginning to the end of his life inspired every word Daniel Defoe uttered. From this time he ceases to be a spectator of the drama that was then being performed. The

mingles with the actors, and is no inconsiderable figure amongst them. He becomes one of the most thorough-going, energetic, sincere men of his time—perhaps the most so. He is always upon the stage in some capacity or another; now a poet, now a zealous yet clear-sighted politician, now full of plans for the promotion of British commerce, now intent on domestic reforms; always a true-hearted, truth-telling Englishman. And these parts he performs, for the most part, amid the hisses of contemporaries, his noblest efforts misrepresented and reviled, his greatest services unrecognised. The year 1683 in his life corresponds with that melancholy time in Mr. Crusoe's adventures, when "we let the boat go and committed ourselves, being eleven in number, to God's mercy and the wild sea," and shortly afterwards "a raging wave, mountain-like, came rolling astern of us * * * *, and took us with such fury that it overset the boat at once; and separating us as well from the boat as from one another, gave us not time hardly to say, 'O God!' for we were all swallowed up in a moment,"—in short, it corresponds with Mr. Crusoe's shipwreck and his ensuing introduction to his island monarchy. His "*Treatise*" gave mortal offence to the Dissenters, with whose party Defoe was of course to a large extent identified, as he was to his last days a consistent Dissenter, though no Independent, Fifth-monarchy man, or Leveller; and from the date of its appearance, a shadow of mistrust came between him and them. He was

manifestly a dangerous man, not to be coerced into an unthinking compliance with all the views and bigotries of the sect. He was not to be depended on. There was in him a large-heartedness and an originality which could not be too severely reprehended.

At this time, probably, Defoe carried on business as a hosier, or hose-factor, in Freeman's Court, Cornhill. The original idea of making a minister of him had been dismissed. He speaks himself somewhat mysteriously of this change in his vocation. "It is not often," he writes in a number of the *Review*, "that I trouble you with any of my divinity; the pulpit is none of my office. It was my disaster first to be set apart for, and then to be set apart from, the honour of that sacred employ." The interpretation of this passage would illustrate curiously, we suspect, the relation of Mr. Defoe to his Dissenting friends.

His next notable proceeding was his joining the Duke of Monmouth. He seems to have placed implicit credence in the Protestant professions of that handsome nobleman, and to have looked upon him as the great champion of the Reformation principles, and so to be supported by all genuine Dissenters. When the duke's cause was overthrown, Defoe had to see to his own personal safety as best he might. Probably he visited the continent for a while. At any rate he made his escape from Judge Jeffreys. Our hosier would have fared but poorly had he been called to confront that bloody man of law Robinson

Cruſoe would then never have met with a biographer, and the man Friday would have been everlaſtingly a ſtranger to us.

After an abſence of a few months Defoe returned to London and his buſineſs in Freeman's Court, not by any means, however, relaxing his intereſt in paſſing events. It was now that he aſſumed that name by which poſterity knows him. We are not informed of the reaſons that actuated this change. Of courſe his enemies gave him credit for very diſreputable ones.

From this time to the Revolution he was the moſt ſtrenuous opponent of King James and every thing that ſavour'd of a Papistical tendency. He detected at once the real object contemplated by his majeſty in the repeal of the Penal Laws, and vehemently warned the Diſſenters againſt accepting that ſpecious favour. Engliſh Proteſtantiſm had no braver, no more able champion than this hoſier of Freeman's Court. Never was there any one who hailed the arrival at our ſhores of the Prince of Orange with more ſincere, more conſtant ſatisfaction. When King William and his Queen attended the city-feaſt given in their honour in 1689, Daniel Deſſoe rode in that eſport of "volunteer horſe, made up of the chief citizens, and gallantly mounted and richly accoutred," and rejoiced ſo to expreſs his gratitude to the man whom he regarded as the ſaviour of his country. The reign of King William may be ſaid to comprehend the happieſt years of De Foe's life, — of his public

life certainly. That monarch soon became acquainted with the sterling talents and genuine fidelity of his admiring subject, and fully appreciated him, and admitted him to his confidence. These two men were well fitted to understand each other. It is to be regretted that our details of their connection are so meagre. Defoe always spoke of it as the highest honour of his life. In after days he never mentions his patron but with a broken voice, so to speak, and a heart overflowing with grateful recollections. He recognised in William one whom he could admire with all the intense sincerity of his nature; and for a few years, it may be, the loneliness of his life was interrupted. "I never forget his goodness to me," he said of *his* king, when his own life was wearing away. "It was my honour and my advantage to call him master as well as sovereign. I never patiently heard his memory slighted, nor ever can do so. Had he lived, he would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in this world." In 1701 he took up arms in defence of his kind master. For, in spite of the immense services King William had done for the country, he received but a churl's thanks from it. He received the most virulent abuse from it. Amongst his libellers, one of the most infamous and audacious was one Mr. Tutchin. That gentleman, in his poem of "*The Foreigners*," had the face to taunt the king with his foreign extraction, and to brag of "the pure English breed." The cup of the Amorites was now full; and Defoe could re

strain his indignation no longer. He answered "*The Foreigners*" with his "*True-born Englishman*." There is great power in this work, and a wonderful vigour of expression, and an intense earnestness. But it is by no means an elegant or a refined work. He anatomises Mr. Tutchin's pure English breed, and comes to very sorry conclusions about it.

"The Romans first with Julius Cesar came,
Including all the nations of that name,
Gauls, Greeks, and Lombards; and, by computation,
Auxiliaries or slaves of ev'ry nation.
With Hengist Saxons; Danes with Sweno came,
In search of plunder, not in search of fame;
Scots, Picts, and Irish from th' Hibernian shore;
And conqu'ring William brought the Normans o'er.
• All these their barbarous offspring left behind,
The dregs of armies, they of all mankind,
Blended with Britons, who before were here,
Of whom the Welsh ha' blest the character.
From this amphibious, ill-born mob began
That vain, ill-natured thing, an Englishman."

The less said about our pedigree the better,

"'Tis well that virtue gives nobility."

The sale of this poem, this outburst of honest indignation, was immense. The nation could not but feel the truthfulness of it, however little affection it might conceive towards the author. But Defoe was not of a nature to be deterred from speaking the truth from any selfish considerations. His sincerity did not permit him to stand hesi-

tating about the consequences, when he saw before his eyes vice triumphing, and virtue overwhelmed with obloquy. In writing the "*True-born Englishman*," he had obeyed the dictates of his righteous anger, and never given a thought to the bitter harvest of enmity he was afterwards to reap.

The 21st of February 1701, when King William's horse, Sorrel, stumbled between Hampton Court and Kensington, and threw his already worn and debilitated master violently upon the ground, was a heavy day for Defoe. The only man whom he ever truly and faithfully looked up to and revered was taken from him. He was once more alone in the world, and alone in a world that hated him and his plain-spoken ways. His only protector was gone, and the hour and power of darkness was approaching for him.

But we must say a word about his private life during King William's reign. The hosiery business did not succeed very well. Probably the attention he bestowed on public affairs interfered considerably with his habits as a tradesman. The ledger did not quite harmonise with political pamphlets and attendance on the Court. In 1692 he failed in his business, and was fain to take refuge for a while in Bristol. In his retirement there he wrote his "*Essay on Projects*,"—a work which singularly illustrates the vigour and the fertility of his mind. Amongst other schemes, he proposes the institution of a College for the Education of Women. And here we wish to point out the

high tone in which Defoe always speaks of the other sex, in an age notoriously debased in this respect. Steele usually has the credit given him of being the first writer of that time who by his example protested against the low and demoralising estimation in which women were held. Several years, however, before Steele refined and civilised his age, by entering this noble protest of his and adopting a more elevated tone, Defoe had endeavoured to teach the same lesson. He had endeavoured to bring about a reformation by insisting on a woman's rights to share the advantages that were then confined to men. If, as has been said, Defoe is no favourite with the ladies on account of the very secondary position they hold in "*Robinson Crusoe*," let them by no means attribute this seeming neglect to any studied depreciation of them, and their importance in the world, and their capacities of influence and education. In that time of galkuntry, they had no more sincere, more honourable, more respectful adorer than Mr. Defoe. "A woman," he says, "well bred and well taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature without comparison! Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments: she is all softness and sweetness, love, wit, and delight."

After residing some time in Bristol, he was enabled to effect a composition with his creditors. We are told that in after years, when he was in comparatively good circumstances, he discharged all his old debts in full, though, in a

legal point of view, released from all claims upon him. Even his enemies were compelled then to acknowledge the consummate integrity of the man. Upon returning to London, he established some tile-kiln and brick-kiln works at Tilbury-on-the-Thames, and seems to have prospered fairly for a few years. Some friends of his offered to settle him as a factor at Cadiz, but he was unwilling to leave England; he felt that there was work for him to do there. While carrying on his business at Tilbury, he occupied a house on the banks of the Thames. It was during this period of his life, probably, that he saw and studied those singular heroes—"friends of the sea, and foes of all that live on it"—whose habits and adventures he delighted in his later days to pourtray, with his characteristic minuteness. Undoubtedly he was endowed with that congeniality of temperament which is so inestimable to a student of men and manners, and had the art of striking friendships with and winning the confidences of those boisterous spirits he met with. Would that Dampier, or one of his fellows, had left some record of his intercourse with the sociable tile-maker!

When Queen Anne ascended the throne, and the High-flyers "unfurled their bloody flag and banner of defiance," and the Nonconformists were threatened with extermination, Defoe could not be expected to hold his peace. In 1702 he produced his "*Shortest Way with the Dissenters*." While professedly written on the High Church side, this

work is in reality a tremendous attack upon that party. It urges the adoption of the most merciless courses towards the Dissenters. "They are to be rooted out of this nation, if ever we will live in peace, or serve God. The light, foolish handling of them by fines, is their glory and advantage. If the gallows instead of the Compter, and the galleys instead of the fines, were the reward of going to a conventicle, there would not be so many sufferers." The inimitable gravity of the style, for awhile, completely imposed upon his readers. The Dissenters regarded the author of it as their deadliest and most unsparing enemy. The other faction pronounced him their most efficient champion. A Cambridge fellow, of the Sacheverell persuasion, ranked the treatise with the Bible and the Sacred Comments. But, however the heats and excitements of controversy might for a time blind men's eyes, and lead astray their judgments, the truth would be revealed at last. The irony that underlay every word in this wonderful pamphlet could not escape notice for ever. And then there broke out a tremendous tumult of indignation against this man who had made a mockery of every body. He was soon discovered to be Daniel Defoe, and indicted for libelling the Tory party. Defoe surrendered himself to take his trial, was found guilty, and was sentenced to pay 200 marks to the Queen, to stand three times in the pillory, to be imprisoned during her majesty's pleasure, and to find sureties for his good behaviour for seven years. It was

resolved by the House of Commons that "*The Shortes Way with the Dissenters*, being full of false and scandalous reflections on the Parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burnt by the hands of the common hang man." And so Daniel Defoe found himself in the lion's den, and there came no angel to shut these lions' mouths. Nothing for him, then, but jeers and buffetings and curses. Was Crusoe ever so touchingly lonely as was his biographer, when he stood before his accusers in the Old Bailey, and recognised scarce a sympathising face?

In the proclamation for his arrest there is a curious description of his outward man. He is represented as "a middle-sized, spare man, about forty years old; of a brown complexion and dark-brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth."

He stood in the pillory, that "hieroglyphic State machine, contriv'd to punish Fancy in," as he described it, the last three days of July 1703. The triumph of his enemies was, however, by no means so complete as they had intended it to be. The mob, it seems, that assembled around their victim treated him with no disrespect, but with all honour, throwing at him only flowers. In after life, however, he was never allowed to forget this infamy. "The fellow that was pilloried—I forget his name," sneers the great Swift.

"Fearless on high stood unabashed De Foe,"

sneers Pope, the great Swift's friend. And so every rascally scribbler—all whose names are now utterly forgotten, and it is worth no man's while to grub for them—had his little sneer at the Defoe, whom we of these days respect so sincerely and honour so profoundly.

After passing through this ordeal, he was thrown into prison to fulfil the remainder of his hard sentence. His private affairs were reduced to a state of inevitable confusion, and thus he was a second time a ruined man. But he never lost heart, never threw aside his pen in disgust, never resigned himself to despair; but "wore rather in his bonds a cheerful brow." He produced, as he lay in his prison, the first number of that memorable serial, "*The Review*"—memorable not so much for its intrinsic merit as containing in it the suggestion of those incomparable papers, the *Tatlers* and the *Spectators*; for there can be little doubt that Steele was indebted for some of his leading ideas to the "entertaining part in every sheet" of "*The Review*," "Being Advice from the Scandal Club to the Curious Enquirers, in answer to Letters sent them for that purpose." Of course, this "entertaining part" is vastly inferior, in point of execution, to the essays of Mr. Isaac Bickerstaff and his famous coadjutors. Defoe's humour is not to be compared with Steele's. He was too intensely absorbed in the great questions of the day, and by nature of too sober and serious a turn of mind, to have either any disposition or any talent for that graceful, playful

style, of which Steele was so consummate a master? “*The Review*” was published at first once a week, then twice, and eventually three times—on Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. It was continued till the year 1713; and during all these nine years Defoe was the heart and soul of it, with scarcely any assistance. We may be sure that its influence upon his contemporaries was not insignificant, from the outcry they raised against it. They raged furiously against it on every hand; but they never shook from his fixed resolve this *justum ac tenacem propositi virum*. He would make himself heard. “How and when,” he says, “I lost my English liberty of speaking my mind, I know not; neither how my speaking my opinions, without fear or reward; could authorise any one to call me villain, rascal, traitor, and such opprobrious names.” Undoubtedly there were times when he felt very keenly his lonely position. But he was supported by a noble consciousness of his rectitude. “He that cannot live above the scorn of scoundrels is not fit to live. Dogs will bark; and so they shall, without lessening one moment of my tranquillity.”

He was released from prison—“received his sight,” to use his own phrase—in 1704, through the intervention of Harley, and took an active part in public affairs down to the death of Queen Anne. In 1705, he was sent on a secret mission. In return for his good service in that employment, he was presented, probably, with some acknowledgment of her Majesty's approval, in the shape of

either a pension or some little appointment. About this time it may be conjectured that he engaged in the wool trade. Meanwhile, the rancour of his enemies daily grew more savage against him. When his private affairs called him into the western counties, the Philistines conspired to kidnap him, and pack him off to the army on the continent. Several country magistrates hatched a plot to apprehend him for a vagabond. The enemies he had left at home commenced endless suits against him for fictitious debts. Being a man of great personal bravery and undaunted resolution, he boldly faced all these antagonists, and managed to thwart their malice. But these things were very hard to bear. Of a surety, Robinson Crusoe never knew so bitter a solitude.

In 1706, my Lord Godolphin presented him again to kiss the Royal hands; which ceremony being performed, he was despatched to Scotland to carry on negotiations with respect to the Union. With that great achievement of Queen Anne's reign he was throughout most intimately connected. He directed and ordered all its details, and subsequently published a most excellent history of it.

The most important feature in the following seven years of Defoe's life is his connection with Parley. "This base wretch," says Oldmixon, that most biased of historians, alluding to his brother Whig, "took money at the same time from the Lord Godolphin, who paid him half a year's pension after he wrote against him, and of Mr. R. Harley,

who sent him to Scotland, as a spy when the Treaty of Union was on foot, and kept him in pay ever after, as a man whose conscience was exactly of a size with his own." "Foe," runs another passage in the same veracious chronicler, "as well as Harley, had been a rank Presbyterian or Independant, and having passed through bankruptcy as a hosier was ready in any drudgery that he could get something by." Certainly the Whigs never forgave Defoe for his intimacy with Harley. In all the vituperations they heaped upon the one, the other had his share. But through all his life Defoe disclaimed the idea of being trammelled by the views of any particular party. It was principles, not parties, that he fought for. That, therefore, he should have been on friendly terms with Oxford, to whom, it must be remembered, he was under very great obligations, argues not the slightest flaw in his political consistency, unless it is found that that friendship in any way perverted his opinions. Now that this was the case *positively*, none can maintain who is at all acquainted with the facts of the case. There may be a little doubt, perhaps, as to Oxford's *negative* influence upon him; that is to say, as to whether his feelings of gratitude and friendship for that statesman may not occasionally have imposed silence upon him. For our own part, we entirely reject the notion that during these years Defoe was doing daily violence to his conscience. Such a hypothesis is perfectly incompatible with Defoe's character and with his conduct, from the beginning to the

end of his political career. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the answer he gives this aspersion upon his honesty, in his "*Appeal*." Was then "*The Annalist*" justified in talking of "an ambodextrous mercenary dirty scribbler, Daniel Foe"? and what apology can be made for the Whigs pouring such torrents of abuse on *his* head who had most bravely, at all seasons, maintained their cause? "I was," — he writes when reviewing his public life — "I was from my first entering into the knowledge of public matters, and have ever been to this day, a sincere lover of the constitution of my country; zealous for liberty and the Protestant interest; but a constant follower of moderate principles, a vigorous opposer of hot measures in all. I never once changed my opinion, my principles or my party; and let what will be said of changing sides, this I maintain that I never once deviated from the Revolution principles, nor from the doctrine of liberty and property on which it was founded."

In 1713 this unfortunate man, being an ardent retainer of the Hanoverian interests, wrote three pamphlets in behalf of it in a strain of such fine irony, that they were all taken for Jacobinical productions. Once more he was indicted for libel, and thrown into Newgate; his prosecutors obstinately refusing to withdraw the charge against him, though they presently discovered its complete groundlessness. It was at this time that he concluded his "*Review*," in the same scene which had witnessed its beginning. His confinement,

however, was of short duration. Her Majesty, convinced of his fidelity, granted him a free pardon; and he came forth again amongst the raging wolves. So fiercely they raged, that they entirely confounded him. He declined writing at all, as he assures us, worn out by all that noise and obloquy and insult. "He sought shelter from the storm on "the borders of Lancashire," and there he lived retired in hopes that the tyranny might speedily be overpast. But for him the tyranny never was overpast. When that dynasty, of whose interests he had ever been so strenuous a defender, succeeded to the throne, and those who had fought for the good cause in the same ranks with him—not one of them more zealously or more efficiently—entered upon their reward, no mention was made of Daniel Defoe. In that day of triumph, for which he had so earnestly longed and so untiringly worked, he was utterly forgotten. Not a token of gratitude, not a word of recognition for him. It was a bitter hour to pass through. He was attempting to vindicate the course he had consistently pursued, when his bodily frame—he was now in his fifty-fifth year—gave way under this load of ill-treatment, and for a time he became insensible of his infinite wrongs. He was prostrated by an attack of apoplexy. "It is the opinion of most who know him," says the publisher of the *"Appeal to Honour and Justice, thought it be of his worst enemies"*—the vindication of "his conduct in public affairs," to which

we have just alluded — “that the treatment which he here complains of, and others of which he would have spoken, have been the cause of this disaster.” Is the mariner a more touching spectacle in that cave of his, when the ague seizes him and he is terrified at his “sad condition, to be sick, and no help,” and lies a while, now light-headed, now crying, “Lord, look upon me ! Lord, pity me ! Lord, have mercy upon me” ?

Defoe lived till the year 1731 ; but his political life ended with the year 1715. He had no inclination to re-enter that arena. His name continued to be a bye-word of reproach in it, and numberless disreputable pamphlets were fathered upon him. But he did not again unsheath his sword in that unhappy warfare. He now began to write for posterity. Only at her tribunal could he hope to have justice done him. He was by nature endowed with powers of the keenest observation, and so, in the course of his multifarious life, he had collected an immense store of facts and incidents. He had accurately noted the habits of all the persons with whom he had been brought into contact. Not a single detail respecting them had escaped him, or had fallen out of his retentive memory. He was a great master in the art of photography, and portrays you the men he met just as he met them, with no heightening of colour or refining of expression.

In 1719 he published “*Robinson Crusoe* ;” which was

followed by "*Captain Singleton*," "*Moll Flanders*," "*Colonel Jack*," "*A Journal of the Plague*," "*Roxana*," "*A New Voyage Round the World*," and "*The History of the Devil*," in wonderfully rapid succession. Very curious was his selection of heroes. It would almost seem as if he found pleasure in contemplating depravity, and depicting it with a nauseating minuteness. His choice was guided partly no doubt by the strange interest which such adventurous gentlemen as Colonel Jack and Captain Singleton excited in him, but more particularly by the fact that he recognised in them excellent materials for pointing a moral. He never wrote any of his fictitious narratives without placing some great moral purpose before him. "My firm resolution," he says, "in all I write, is to exalt virtue, expose vice, promote truth, and help men to serious reflection; this is my first moving cause and last directing end." At some period or other in his chequered life, we cannot doubt he had met the original of every portrait he draws. Moll Flanders and Roxana, perhaps, he encountered inside the walls of Newgate. We may be certain that his prison experience would not be lost on him. He would recall extraordinary scenes in his own career as he was compiling those wonderful memoirs. Many an adventure, of which he had been an eye-witness, or in which he had taken a part, is woven, we may suppose, into their pages.

He retained his activity of mind to the close of his life.

In 1728 he wrote "*A Plan of English Commerce*." In 1730, when he was sixty-nine years of age, calamity again overtook him, and he was thrown into the debtors' prison. He seems never to have been very happy in his pecuniary matters. Then, after his release, a great domestic trouble darkened the remaining months of his life. His son, it appears, had proved false to some trust reposed in him by the poor old man. "I am sorry," he writes to Mr. Baker, the husband of his daughter Sophia, his "best gift,"—he is just completing his term of three-score-years-and-ten at the date of this letter, and is bowed down with the infirmities of age and of deep anguish—"I am sorry," writes old Mr. Defoe, "I must open my griefs so far as to tell her [that is, Sophia] it is not the blow I received from a wicked, perjured, and contemptible enemy that has broken in upon my spirit; which, as she well knows, has carried me through greater disasters than these. But it has been the injustice, unkindness, and, I must say, inhuman dealing, of my own son, which has both ruined my family, and, in a word, has broken my heart; and as I am at this time under a very heavy weight of illness, which I think will be a fever, I take this occasion to vent my grief in the breasts, who, I know, will make a prudent use of it, and tell you nothing but this has conquered me, or could conquer me. *Et tu ! Brute !* I depended upon him, I trusted him, I gave up my two dear unprovided children into his hands; but he has no compassion, and

suffers them and their poor dying mother to beg their bread at his door, and to crave, as if it were an alms, what he is bound under hand and seal, besides the most sacred promises to supply them with; himself at the same time living in a profusion of plenty. It is too much for me. Excuse my infirmity, I can say no more, my heart is too full. I only ask one thing of you as a dying request. Stand by them when I am gone, and let them not be wronged, while he is able to do them right. Stand by them as a brother; and if you have anything within you owing to my memory, who have bestowed on you the best gift I had to give, let them not be injured, and trampled on by false pretences, and unnatural reflections. I hope they will want no help but that of comfort and counsel; but that they will indeed want, being too easy to be managed by words and promises.

* * * I would say, I hope with comfort that it is yet well, I am so near my journey's end, and am hastening to the place where the wicked cease to trouble; be it that the passage is rough, and the day stormy. By what way soever He please to bring me to the end of it, I desire to finish life with this temper of soul in all cases — *Te Deum laudamus*. May all you do be prosperous, and all you meet with pleasant, and may you both escape the tortures and troubles of uneasy life! It adds to my grief that I must never see the pledge of your mutual love, my grandson. Give him my blessing, and may he be to you both your

joy in youth, and your comfort in age, and never add a sigh to your sorrow. Kiss my dear Sophy once more for me; and, if I must see her no more, tell her this is from a father that loved her above all his comforts to his last breath." •

He died in Ropemaker's Alley, in his native parish, on the 24th of April 1731.

J. W. H. ●

MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER.

It may suffice the reader, without being very inquisitive about my name, that I was born in the county of Salop in the year 1608. My father was a gentleman of a very plentiful fortune, and of a family nearly allied to several of the principal nobility. As it is not my private history that I wish to give an account of, so much as the wars in which I have been engaged, I shall say nothing about my early life except that I was educated at — College in Oxford, and that on the 22nd of April, 1630, I set out, with my father's approval, to see something of the world. I staid abroad for five years, serving for a part of that time in the army of the great King Gustavus Adolphus; whereof I have writ in my journal of the wars in Germany, and shall here pass over, being now purposed to speak of the wars in England.

It was in the latter end of the year 1635 that I came to the Hague, and took shipping for England, where I arrived, to the great satisfaction of my father, and all my friends.

My father was then in London, and carried me to kiss the king's hand. His majesty was pleased to receive me very well, and to say a great many very obliging things to my father upon my account.

I spent my time very retired from court, for I was almost wholly in the country; and it being so much different from my genius, which hankered after a warmer sport than hunting among our Welch mountains, I could not but be peeping in all the foreign accounts from Germany, to see who and who was together. Then I could never hear of a battle, and the Germans being beaten, but I began to wish myself there. But when an account came of the progress of John Bannier, the Swedish general in Saxony, and of the constant victories he had there over the Saxons, I could no longer contain myself, but told my father this life was very disagreeable to me; that I lost my time here, and might to much more advantage go into Germany, where I was sure I might make my fortune upon my own terms; that, as young as I was, I might have been a general officer by this time, if I had not laid down my commission; that General Bannier, or the Marshal Horn, had either of them so much respect for me, that I was sure I might have anything of them; and that if he pleased to give me leave, I would go for Germany again. My father was very unwilling to let me go, but seeing me uneasy, told me, that, if I was resolved, he would oblige me to stay no longer in England than the next spring, and I should have his consent.

The winter following began to look very unpleasant upon us in England, and my father used often to sigh at it; and would tell me sometimes, he was afraid we should have no need to send Englishmen to fight in Germany.

The cloud that seemed to threaten most was from Scotland. My father, who had made himself master of the arguments on both sides, used to be often saying, he feared there was some about the king who exasperated him too much against the Scots, and drove things too high. For my part, I confess I did not much trouble my head with the cause; but all my fear was, they would not fall out, and we should have no fighting. I have often reflected

since, that I ought to have known better, that had seen how the most flourishing provinces of Germany were reduced to the most miserable condition that ever any country in the world was, by the ravagings of soldiers, and the calamities of war.

How much soever I was to blame, yet so it was; I had a secret joy at the news of the king's raising an army, and nothing could have withheld me from appearing in it; but my eagerness was anticipated by an express the king sent my father, to know if his son was in England; and my father having ordered me to carry the answer myself, I waited upon his majesty with the messenger. The king received me with his usual kindness, and asked me if I was willing to serve him against the Scots?

I answered I was ready to serve him against any that his majesty thought fit to account his enemies, and should count it an honour to receive his commands. Hereupon his majesty offered me a commission. I told him I supposed there would not be much time for raising of men; that if his majesty pleased, I would be at the rendezvous with as many gentlemen as I could get together to serve his majesty as volunteers.

The truth is, I found all the regiments of horse the king designed to raise were but two as regiments: the rest of the horse were such as the nobility raised in several counties, and commanded them themselves; and, as I had commanded a regiment of horse abroad, it looked a little odd to serve with a single troop at home; and the king took the thing presently. Indeed, it will be a volunteer war, said the king, for the northern gentry have sent me an account of above four thousand horse they have already. I bowed, and told his majesty I was glad to hear his subjects were so forward to serve him. So taking his majesty's orders to be at York by the end of March, I returned to my father.

My father was very glad I had not taken a commission;

for, I know not from what kind of emulation between the western and northern gentry, the gentlemen of our side were not very forward in the service; their loyalty to the king in the succeeding times made it appear it was not from any disaffection to his majesty's interest or person, or to the cause; but this however made it difficult for me when I came to get any gentleman of quality to serve with me; so that I presented myself to his majesty only as a volunteer, with eight gentlemen and about thirty-six countrymen well mounted and armed.

And, as it proved, these were enough, for this expedition ended in an accommodation with the Scots; and they not advancing so much as to their own borders, we never came to any action; but the armies lay in the counties of Northumberland and Durham, eat up the country, and sent the king a vast sum of money; and so this war ended, a pacification was made, and both sides returned.

The truth is, I never saw such a despicable appearance of men in arms to begin a war in my life; whether it was that I had seen so many braver armies abroad that prejudiced me against them, or that it really was so; for to me they seemed little better than a rabble met together to devour rather than fight for their king and country. There was, indeed, a great appearance of gentlemen, and those of extraordinary quality; but their garb, their equipages, and their mien, did not look like war; their troops were filled with footmen and servants, and wretchedly armed. I believe I might say without vanity, one regiment of Finland horse would have made sport at beating them all. There was such crowds of parsons (for this was a church war in particular), that the camp and court was full of them; and the king was so eternally besieged with clergymen of one sort or another, that it gave offence to the chief of the nobility.

As was the appearance, so was the service. The army

marched to the borders, and the head-quarter was at Berwick-upon-Tweed; but the Scots never appeared—no, not so much as their scouts. Whereupon the king called a council of war, and there it was resolved to send the Earl of Holland, with a party of horse into Scotland, to learn some news of the enemy; and truly the first news he brought us was, that finding their army encamped at Coldingham, fifteen miles from Berwick, as soon as he appeared, the Scots drew out a party to charge him; upon which most of his men halted, I don't say run away, but it was next door to it; for they could not be persuaded to fire their pistols, and wheel off like soldiers, but retreated in such a disorderly and shameful manner, that, had the enemy but had either the courage or conduct to have followed them, it must have certainly ended in the ruin of the whole party.

.. I confess, when I went into arms at the beginning of this war, I never troubled myself to examine sides; I was glad to hear the drums beat for soldiers, as if I had been a mere Swiss, that had not cared which side went up or down so I had my pay. I went as eagerly and blindly about my business as the meanest wretch that listed in the army; nor had I the least compassionate thought for the miseries of my native country, till after the fight at Edgehill. I had known as much, and perhaps more, than most in the army what it was to have an enemy ranging in the bowels of a kingdom; I had seen the most flourishing provinces of Germany reduced to perfect deserts, and the voracious Crabats, with inhuman barbarity, quenching the fire of the plundered villages with the blood of the inhabitants. Whether this had hardened me against the natural tenderness which I afterwards found return upon me or not, I cannot tell; but I reflected upon myself afterwards with a great deal of trouble for the unconcernedness of my temper at the approaching ruin of my native country.

I was in the first army at York, as I have already noted, and, I must confess, had the least diversion there that ever I found in an army in my life; for when I was in Germany with the King of Sweden, we used to see the king, with the general officers, every morning on horseback, yiewing his men, his artillery, his horses, and always something going forward; here we saw nothing but courtiers and clergymen, bishops and parsons, as busy as if the direction of the war had been in them. The king was seldom seen among us, and never without some of them always about him.

Those few of us that had seen the wars, and would have made a short end of this for him, began to be very uneasy; and particularly a certain nobleman took the freedom to tell the king that the clergy would certainly ruin the expedition. The case was this, he would have had the king have immediately marched into Scotland, and put the matter to the trial of a battle; and he urged it every day; and the king finding his reasons very good, would often be of his opinion; but next morning he would be of another mind.

This gentleman was a man of conduct enough, and of unquestioned courage, and afterwards lost his life for the king. He saw we had an army of young stout fellows, numerous enough; and though they had not yet seen much service, he was for bringing them to action, that the Scots might not have time to strengthen themselves; nor they have time, by idleness and sotting, the bane of soldiers, to make themselves unfit for anything.

I was one morning in company with this gentleman, and as he was a warm man, and eager in his discourse, A plague on these priests, says he, it is for them the king has raised this army and put his friends to a vast charge, and now we are come, they won't let us fight.

But I was afterwards convinced the clergy saw farther into the matter than we did. They saw the Scots had a better army than we had; bold and ready, commande'd by

brave officers; and they foresaw, that, if we fought, we should be beaten, and if beaten, they were undone. And it was very true, we had all been ruined if we had engaged.

It is true, when we came to the pacification which followed, I confess I was of the same mind the gentleman had been of; for we had better have fought and been beaten, than have made so dishonourable a treaty without striking a stroke. This pacification seems to me to have laid the scheme of all the blood and confusion which followed in the civil war; for whatever the king and his friends might pretend to do by talking big, the Scots saw he was to be bullied into anything, and that, when it came to the push, the courtiers never cared to bring it to blows.

I have little or nothing to say as to action in this mock expedition. The king was persuaded at last to march to Berwick; and as I have said already, a party of horse went out to learn news of the Scots, and as soon as they saw them, run away from them bravely.

This made the Scots so insolent, that whereas before they lay encamped behind a river, and never showed themselves, in a sort of modest deference to their king, which was the pretence of not being aggressors or invaders, only arming in their own defence; now, having been invaded by the English troops entering Scotland, they had what they wanted; and to show it was not fear that restrained them before but policy, now they came up in parties to our very gates, braving and facing us every day. But nobody cared to meddle with them; and in this posture things stood when the pacification was agreed on by both parties; which, like a short truce, only gave both sides breath to prepare for a new war more ridiculously managed than the former. When the treaty was so near a conclusion as that conversation was admitted on both sides, I went over to the Scotch camp to satisfy my curiosity, as many of our English officers did also.

I confess, the soldiers made a very uncouth figure, especially the highlanders; the oddness and barbarity of their garb and arms seemed to have something in it remarkable.

They were generally tall swinging fellows; their swords were extravagantly, and, I think, insignificantly broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress was as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, striped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of merry-andrews, ready for Bartholomew fair. They are in companies all of a name, and therefore call one another only by their Christian names, as Jemmy, Jockey, that is John, and Sawny, that is Alexander, and the like. And they scorn to be commanded but by one of their own clan or family. They are all gentlemen, and proud enough to be kings. The meanest fellow among them is as tenacious of his honour as the best nobleman in the country, and they will fight and cut one another's throats for every trifling affront.

But to their own clans, or lairds, they are the willingest and most obedient fellows in nature. Give them their due; were their skill in exercises and discipline proportioned to their courage, they would make the bravest soldiers in the world. They are large bodies, and prodigiously strong; and two qualities they have above other nations, viz., hardy to endure hunger, cold, and hardships, and wonderfully swift of foot. The latter is such an advantage in the field, that I know none like it; for if they conquer, no enemy can escape them; and if they run, even the horse can hardly overtake them. There were some of them, who, as I observed, went out in parties with their horse.

There were three or four thousand of these in the Scots' army, armed only with swords and targets; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no muskets at that time among them.

But there were also a great many regiments of disciplined men, who, by their carrying of their arms, looked as if they understood their business, and by their faces that they durst see an enemy.

I had not been half an hour in their camp after the ceremony of giving our names, and passing their outguards and mainguards was over, but I was saluted by several of my acquaintance; and, in particular, by one who led the Scotch volunteers at the taking the castle of Openheim. They used me with all the respect they thought due to me, on account of old affairs; gave me the word, and a serjeant waited upon me whenever I pleased to go abroad.

I continued twelve or fourteen days among them, till the pacification was concluded; and they were ordered to march home. They spoke very respectfully of the king, but I found were exasperated to the last degree at Archbishop Laud and the English bishops, for endeavouring to impose the Common Prayer Book upon them; and they always talked with the utmost contempt of our soldiers and army. I always waived the discourse about the clergy, and the occasion of the war; but I could not but be too sensible what they said of our men was true, and by this I perceived they had an universal intelligence from among us, both of what we were doing, and what sort of people we were that were doing it; and they were mighty desirous of coming to blows with us. I had an invitation from their general, but I declined it, lest I should give offence. I found they accepted the pacification as a thing not likely to hold, or that they did not design, should hold; and that they were resolved to keep their forces on foot, notwithstanding the agreement. Their whole army was full of

brave officers, men of as much experience and conduct as any in the world; and all men who know anything of war, know good officers presently make a good army.

Things being thus huddled up, the English came back to York, where the army separated, and the Scots went home to increase theirs; for I easily foresaw that peace was the farthest thing from their thoughts.

The next year the flame broke out again; the king drew his forces down into the north as before, and expresses were sent to all the gentlemen that had commands, to be at the place by the 15th of July. As I had accepted of no command in the army, so I had no inclination at all to go; for I foresaw there would be nothing but disgrace attending it. My father observing such an alteration in my usual forwardness, asked me one day, what was the matter that I, who used to be so forward to go into the army, and so eager to run abroad to fight, now showed no inclination to appear when the service of the king and country called me to it? I told him I had as much zeal as ever for the king's service, and for the country too; but he knew a soldier could not abide to be beaten: and being from thence a little more inquisitive, I told him the observations I had made in the Scots' army, and the people I had conversed with there; And, sir, says I, assure yourself, if the king offers to fight them, he will be beaten; and I don't love to engage when my judgment tells me beforehand I shall be worsted. And, as I had foreseen it came to pass; for the Scots resolving to proceed, never stood upon the ceremony of aggression as before, but on the 20th of August they entered England with their army.

However, as my father desired, I went to the king's army, which was then at York, but not gotten all together: the king himself was at London, but upon this news takes post for the army, and advancing a part of his forces, he posted the Lord Conway and Sir Jacob Astley, with a brigade of

foot and some horse, at Newborn, upon the river Tyne, to keep the Scots from passing that river.

The Scots could have passed the Tyne without fighting; but, to let us see that they were able to force their passage, they fall upon this body of men; and, notwithstanding all the advantages of the place, they beat them from the post and took their baggage and two pieces of cannon, with some prisoners. Sir Jacob Astley made what resistance he could, but the Scots charged with so much fury, and being also overpowered, he was soon put into confusion. Immediately the Scots made themselves masters of Newcastle, and the next day of Durham, and laid those two counties under intolerable contributions.

Now was the king absolutely ruined; for among his own people the discontents before were so plain, that had the clergy had any forecast, they would never have embroiled him with the Scots, till he had fully brought matters to an understanding at home; but the case was thus:—The king, by the good husbandry of Bishop Juxon, his treasurer, had a million of ready money in his treasury, and, upon that account, having no need of a parliament, had not called one in twelve years; and perhaps had never called another, if he had not, by this unhappy circumstance, been reduced to a necessity of it; for now this ready money was spent in two foolish expeditions, and his army appeared in a condition not fit to engage the Scots; the detachment under Sir Jacob Astley, which were of the flower of his men, had been routed at Newborn, and the enemy had possession of two entire counties.

All men blamed Laud for prompting the king to provoke the Scots, a headstrong nation, and zealous for their own way of worship; and Laud himself found, too late, the consequences of it, both to the whole cause and to himself; for the Scots, whose native temper is not easily to forgive an injury, pursued him by their party into England, and never gave it over, till they laid his head on the block.

The ruined country now clamoured in his majesty's ears with daily petitions, and the gentry of other neighbouring counties cry out for peace and a parliament. The king embarrassed with these difficulties, and quite empty of money, calls a great council of the nobility at York, and demands their advice, which any one could have told him before, would be to call a parliament.

I cannot, without regret, look back upon the misfortune of the king, who, as he was one of the best princes in his personal conduct that ever reigned in England, had yet some of the greatest unhappinesses in his conduct as a king, that ever prince had, and the whole course of his life demonstrated it.

1. An impolitic honesty. His enemies called it obstinacy: but as I was perfectly acquainted with his temper, I cannot but think it was his judgment, when he thought he was in the right, to adhere to it as a duty, though against his interest.

2. Too much compliance when he was complying.

No man but himself would have denied, what at sometimes he denied, and have granted what at other times he granted; and this uncertainty of council proceeded from two things:—

(1.) The heat of the clergy, to whom he was exceedingly devoted, and for whom indeed he ruined himself.

(2.) The wisdom of his nobility.

Thus, when the counsel of his priests prevailed, all was fire and fury; the Scots were rebels, and must be subdued, and the parliament's demands were to be rejected as exorbitant. But whenever the king's judgment was led by the grave and steady advice of his nobility and counsellors, he was always inclined by them to temper his measures between the two extremes; and had he gone on in such a temper, he had never met with the misfortunes which afterwards attended him, or had so many thousands of his friends lost their lives and fortunes in his service.

I am sure, we that knew what it was to fight for him, and that loved him better than any of the clergy could pretend to, have had many a consultation how to bring over our master from so espousing their interest, as to ruin himself for it; but it was in vain.

I took this interval, when I sat still and only looked on, to make these remarks, because I remember the best friends the king had were at this time of that opinion, that it was an unaccountable piece of indiscretion, to commence a quarrel with the Scots, a poor and obstinate people, for a ceremony and book of church discipline, at a time when the king stood but upon indifferent terms with his people at home.

The consequence was, it put arms into the hands of his subjects to rebel against him; it embroiled him with his parliament in England, to whom he was fain to stoop in a fatal and unusual manner to get money, all his own being spent, and so to buy off the Scots, whom he could not beat off.

Thus things were carried on, till the king was driven to the necessity of calling a parliament in England.

It is not my design to enter into the feuds and wrangles of this parliament. I have noted by observations of their mistakes, who brought the king to this unhappy necessity of calling them.

His majesty had tried parliaments upon several occasions before, but never found himself so much embroiled with them but he could send them home, and there was an end of it; but as he could not avoid calling these, so they took care to put him out of a condition to dismiss them.

The Scots' army was now quartered upon the English. The counties, the gentry, and the assembly of lords at York, petitioned for a parliament.

The Scots presented their demands to the king, in which it was observed, that matters were concerted between them and a party in England; and I confess, when I saw that, I began to think the king in an ill case; for, as the Scots pre-

tended grievances, we thought, the king redressing those grievances, they could ask no more; and therefore all men advised the king to grant their full demands. And whereas the king had not money to supply the Scots in their march home, I know there were several meetings of gentlemen with a design to advance considerable sums of money to the king to set him free, and in order to reinstate his majesty, as before. Not that we ever advised the king to rule without a parliament, but we were very desirous of putting him out of the necessity of calling them, at least, just then.

But the eighth article of the Scots' demands expressly required, That an English parliament might be called to remove all obstructions of commerce, and to settle peace, religion, and liberty; and in another article they tell the king, the 24th of September, being the time his majesty appointed for the meeting of the peers, will make it too long ere the parliament meet.

And in another, That a parliament was the only way of settling peace, and bringing them to his majesty's obedience.

When we saw this in the army, it was time to look about. Everybody perceived that the Scots' army would call an English parliament; and whatever aversion the king had to it, we all saw he would be obliged to comply with it; and now they all began to see their error, who advised the king to this Scotch war.

While these things were transacting, the assembly of the peers met at York; and by their advice a treaty was begun with the Scots. But the Scots refused any treaty in the city of York. The king received the account of their haughty behaviour with some regret; however, it was his majesty's time now to bear, and therefore the Scots were complied with, and the treaty appointed at Rippon; where, after much debate, several preliminary articles were agreed on, as a cessation of arms; quarters, and bounds to the

armies; subsistence to the Scots' army; and the residue of the demands was referred to a treaty at London, &c.

We were all amazed at the treaty, and I cannot but remember, we used to wish much rather we had been suffered to fight; for though we had been worsted at first, the power and strength of the king's interest, which was not yet tried, must, in fine, have been too strong for the Scots; whereas now we saw the king was for complying with anything, and all his friends would be ruined.

I confess, I had nothing to fear, and so was not much concerned; but our predictions soon came to pass; for no sooner was this parliament called, but abundance of those who had embroiled their king with his people of both kingdoms, like the disciples, when their master was betrayed to the Jews, forsook him and fled; and now parliament tyranny began to succeed church tyranny, and we soldiers were glad to see it at first. The bishops trembled, the judges went to gaol; the officers of the customs were laid hold on; and the parliament began to lay their fingers on the great ones, particularly Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford. We had no great concern for the first, but the last was a man of so much conduct and gallantry, and so beloved by the soldiers and principal gentry of England, that everybody was touched with his misfortune.

The parliament now grew mad in their turn; and, as the prosperity of any party is the time to show their discretion, the parliament showed they knew as little where to stop as other people. The king was not in a condition to deny anything, and nothing could be demanded but they pushed it. They attainted the Earl of Strafford, and thereby made the king cut off his right hand to save his left, and yet not save it neither. They obtained another bill, to empower them to sit during their own pleasure, and after them, triennial parliaments, to meet, whether the king call them or no; and granting this completed his majesty's ruin.

Had the house only regulated the abuses of the court, punished evil counsellors, and restored parliaments to their original and just powers, all had been well; and the king, though he had been more than mortified, had yet reaped the benefit of future peace; for now the Scots were sent home, after having eaten up two counties, and received a prodigious sum of money to boot. And the king, though too late, goes in person to Edinburgh, and grants them all they could desire, and more than they asked; but in England, the desires of ours were unbounded, and drove at all extremes.

They threw out the bishops from sitting in the house, make a protestation equivalent to the Scotch covenant; and this done print their remonstrance. This so provoked the king, that he resolves upon seizing some of the members, and, in an ill hour, enters the house in person to take them. Thus one imprudent thing on one hand produced another of the other hand, until the king was obliged to leave them to themselves, for fear of being mobbed into something or other unworthy of himself.

These proceedings began to alarm the gentry and nobility of England; for, however willing we were to have evil counsellors removed, and the government return to a settled and legal course, according to the happy constitution of this nation, and might have been forward enough to have owned the king had been misled, and imposed upon to do things which he had rather had not been done; yet it did not follow, that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown should devolve upon the parliament, and the king in a manner be deposed, or else sacrificed to the fury of the rabble.

The heats of the house running then thus to all extremes, and at last to take from the king the power of the militia, which indeed was all that was left to make him anything of a king, put the king upon opposing force with force; and thus the flame of civil war began.

However backward I was engaging in the second year's

expedition against the Scots, I was as forward now; for I waited on the king at York, where a gallant company of gentlemen as ever were seen in England, engaged themselves to enter into his service; and here some of us formed ourselves into troops for the guard of his person.

The king having been waited upon by the gentry of Yorkshire, and having told them his resolution of erecting his royal standard, and received from them hearty assurances of support, dismisses them, and marches to Hull, where lay the train of artillery, and all the arms and ammunition belonging to the northern army, which had been disbanded. But here the parliament had been beforehand with his majesty, so that when he came to Hull, he found the gates shut, and Sir John Hotham, the governor, upon the walls, though with a great deal of seeming humility and protestations of loyalty to his person, yet with a positive denial to admit any of the king's attendants into the town. If his majesty pleased to enter the town in person with any reasonable number of his household, he would submit, but would not be prevailed on to receive the king, as he would be received, with his forces, though those forces were then but very few.

The king was exceedingly provoked at this repulse, and indeed it was a great surprise to us all; for certainly never prince began a war against the whole strength of his kingdom under the circumstances that he was in. He had not a garrison, or a company of soldiers in his pay; not a stand of arms, or a barrel of powder, a musket, cannon, or mortar; not a ship of all the fleet, or money in his treasury to procure them; whereas the parliament had all his navy, and ordnance, stores, magazines, arms, ammunition, and revenue, in their keeping. And this I take to be another defect of the king's council, and a sad instance of the distraction of his affairs; that when he saw how all things were going to wreck, as it was impossible but he should see it, and it is plain he did see it, that he should not, long enough before

it came to extremities, secure^d the navy, magazines, and stores of war, in the hands of his trusty servants, that would have been sure to have preserved them for his use, at a time when he wanted them.

It cannot be supposed but the gentry of England, who generally preserved their loyalty for their royal master, and at last heartily showed it, were exceedingly discouraged at first, when they saw the parliament had all the means of making war in their own hands, and the king was naked and destitute either of arms or ammunition, or money to procure them.

Not but that the king, by extraordinary application, recovered the disorder the want of these things had thrown him into, and supplied himself with all things needful.

But my observation was this, had his majesty had the magazines, navy, and forts in his own hand, the gentry, who wanted but the prospect of something to encourage them, had come in at first, and the parliament, being unprovided, would have been presently reduced to reason.

But this was it that baulked the gentry of Yorkshire, who went home again, giving the king good promises, but never appeared for him, till by raising a good army in Shropshire and Wales, he marched towards London, and they saw there was a prospect of their being supported.

In this condition the king erected his standard at Nottingham, August 2nd, 1642, and, I confess, I had very melancholy apprehensions of the king's affairs; for the appearance to the royal standard was but small. The affront the king had met with at Hull had baulked and dispirited the northern gentry, and the king's affairs looked with a very dismal aspect. We had expresses from London of the prodigious success of the parliament's levies, how their men came in faster than they could entertain them, and that arms were delivered out to whole companies listed together, and the like: and all this while the king had not got

together a thousand foot, and had no arms for them neither. When the king saw this, he immediately despatches five several messengers, whereof one went to the Marquis of Worcester into Wales; one went to the queen, then at Windsor; one to the Duke of Newcastle, then Marquis of Newcastle, into the north; one into Scotland, and one into France, where the queen soon after arrived, to raise money, and buy arms, and to get what assistance she could among her own friends: nor was her majesty idle, for she sent over several ships laden with arms, and ammunition, with a fine train of artillery, and a great many very good officers; and though one of the first fell into the hands of the parliament, with three hundred barrels of powder and some arms, and a hundred and fifty gentlemen, yet most of the gentlemen found means, one way or other to get to us, and most of the ships the queen freighted arrived; and at last her majesty came herself, and brought an extraordinary supply, both of men, money, arms, &c., with which she joined the king's forces under the Earl of Newcastle in the north. Finding his majesty thus bestirring himself to muster his friends together, I asked him, if he thought it might not be for his majesty's service to let me go among my friends, and his loyal subjects about Shrewsbury? Yes, says the king, smiling, I intend you shall, and I design to go with you myself. I did not understand what the king meant then, and did not think it good manners to inquire; but the next day I found all things disposed for a march, and the king on horseback by eight of the clock; when calling me to him, he told me I should go before, and let my father and all my friends know he would be at Shrewsbury the Saturday following. I left my equipages, and taking post with only one servant, was at my father's the next morning by break of day. My father was not surprised at the news of the king's coming at all; for, it seems he, together with the loyal gentry of those parts, had sent

particularly to give the king an invitation to move that way, which I was not made privy to; with an account what encouragement they had there in the endeavours made for his interest. In short, the whole country was entirely for the king; and such was the universal joy the people showed when the news of his majesty's coming down was positively known, that all manner of business was laid aside, and the whole body of the people seemed to be resolved upon the war.

As this gave a new face to the king's affairs, so I must own it filled me with joy; for I was astonished before, when I considered what the king and his friends were like to be exposed to. The news of the proceedings of the parliament, and their powerful preparations, were now no more terrible; the king came at the time appointed, and having lain at my father's house one night, entered Shrewsbury in the morning. The acclamations of the people, the concourse of the nobility and gentry about his person, and the crowds which now came every day into his standard, were incredible.

The loyalty of the English gentry was not only worth notice, but the power of the gentry is extraordinarily visible in this matter. The king, in about six weeks' time, which was the most of his stay at Shrewsbury, was supplied with money, arms, ammunition, and a train of artillery, and listed a body of an army upwards of twenty thousand men.

His majesty seeing the general alacrity of his people, immediately issued out commissions, and formed regiments of horse and foot; and having some experienced officers about him, together with about sixteen, who came from France, with a ship loaded with arms and some field-pieces, which came very seasonably into the Severn, the men were exercised, regularly disciplined, and quartered, and now we began to look like soldiers. My father had raised a regiment of horse at his own charge, and com-

pleted them, and the king gave out arms to them from the supplies which I mentioned came from abroad. Another party of horse, all brave, stout fellows, and well mounted, came in from Lancashire, and the Earl of Derby at the head of them. The Welchmen came in by droves; and so great was the concourse of people, that the king began to think of marching, and gave the command as well as the trust of regulating the army, to the brave Earl of Lindsey, as general of the foot; the parliament general being the Earl of Essex; two braver men, or two better officers, were not in the kingdom; they had both been old soldiers, and had served together as volunteers in the Low Country wars, under Prince Maurice. They had been comrades and companions abroad, and now came to face one another as enemies in the field.

Such was the expedition used by the king and his friends, in the levies of this first army, that notwithstanding the wonderful expedition the parliament made, the king was in the field before them; and now the gentry in other parts of the nation bestirred themselves, and seized upon and garrisoned several considerable places for the king. In the north, the Earl of Newcastle not only garrisoned the most considerable places, but even the general possession of the north was for the king, excepting Hull and some few places, which the old Lord Fairfax had taken up for the parliament. On the other hand, entire Cornwall, and most of the western counties, were the king's. The parliament had their chief interest in the south and eastern part of England; as Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, Hertford, Buckinghamshire, and the other midland counties. These were called, or some of them at least, the associated counties, and felt little of the war, other than the charges; but the main support of the parliament was the city of London. The king made the seat of his court at Oxford, which he

caused to be regularly fortified. The Lord Say had been here, and had possession of the city for the enemy, and was debating about fortifying it, but came to no resolution, which was a very great oversight in them; the situation of the place, and the importance of it, on many accounts, to the city of London, considered; and they would have retrieved this error afterwards, but then it was too late; for the king made it the head-quarters, and received great supplies and assistance from the wealth of the colleges, and the plenty of the neighbouring country. Abingdon, Wallingford, Basing, and Reading, were all garrisoned and fortified as outworks, to defend this as the centre. And thus all England became the theatre of blood, and war was spread into every corner of the country, though as yet there was no stroke struck. I had no command in this army; my father led his own regiment; and, as old as he was, would not leave his royal master; and my elder brother stayed at home to support the family. As for me, I rode a volunteer in the royal troop of guards, which may very well deserve the title of a royal troop; for it was composed of young gentlemen, sons of the nobility, and some of the prime gentry of the nation, and I think not a person of so mean a birth or fortune as myself. We reckoned in this troop two-and-thirty lords, or who came afterwards to be such: and eight-and-thirty of younger sons of the nobility, five French noblemen, and all the rest gentlemen of very good families and estates.

And that I may give the due to their personal valour, many of this troop lived afterwards to have regiments and troops under their command, in the service of the king; many of them lost their lives for him, and most of them their estates: nor did they behave unworthy of themselves in their first showing their faces to the enemy, as shall be mentioned in its place.

While the king remained at Shrewsbury, his loyal friends

bestirred themselves in several parts of the kingdom. Goring had secured Portsmouth; but being young in matters of war, and not in time relieved, though the Marquis of Hertford was marching to relieve him, yet he was obliged to quit the place, and shipped himself for Holland, from whence he returned with relief for the king, and afterwards did very good service upon ~~all~~ occasions, and so effectually cleared himself of the scandal the hasty surrender of Portsmouth had brought upon his courage.

The chief power of the king's forces lay in three places, in Cornwall, in Yorkshire, and at Shrewsbury. In Cornwall, Sir Ralph Hopton, afterwards Lord Hopton, Sir Bevil Granvil, and Sir Nicholas Slamming, secured all the country, and afterwards spread themselves over Devonshire and Somersetshire, took Exeter from the parliament, fortified Bridgewater and Barnstable, and beat Sir William Waller at the battle of Roundway Down, as I shall touch at more particularly, when I come to recite the part of my own travels that way.

In the north, the Marquis of Newcastle secured all the country, garrisoned York, Scarborough, Carlisle, Newcastle, Pomfret, Leeds, and all the considerable places, and took the field with a very good army, though afterwards he proved more unsuccessful than the rest, having the whole power of a kingdom at his back, the Scots coming in with an army to the assistance of the parliament; which indeed was the general turn of the scale of the war; for, had it not been for the Scots' army, the king had most certainly reduced the parliament, at least to good terms of peace, in two years' time.

The king was the third article: his force at Shrewsbury I have noted already; the alacrity of the gentry filled him with hopes, and all his army with vigour, and the 8th of October, 1642, his majesty gave orders to march. The Earl of Essex had spent above a month after his leaving

London (for he went thence 'the 9th of September) in modelling and drawing" together his forces; his rendezvous was at St. Alban's, from whence he marched to Northampton, Coventry, and Warwick, and leaving garrisons in them, he comes on to Worcester. Being thus advanced, he possesses Oxford, as I noted before, Banbury, Bristol, Gloucester, and Worcester, out of all which places, except Gloucester, we drove him back to London in a very little while.

Sir John Biron had raised a very good party of five hundred horse, most gentlemen, for the king, and had possessed Oxford; but on the approach of Lord Say quitted it, being now but an open town, and retreated to Worcester; from whence, on the approach of Essex's army, he retreated to the king. And now all things grew ripe for action, both parties having secured their posts, and settled their schemes of the war, taken their posts and places as their measures and opportunities directed; the field was next in their eye, and the soldiers began to inquire when they should fight; for as yet there had been little or no blood drawn, and it was not long before they had enough of it; for I believe I may challenge all the historians in Europe to tell me of any war in the world where, in the space of four years, there were so many pitched battles, sieges, fights, and skirmishes, as in this war; we never encamped or intrenched, never fortified the avenues to our posts, or lay fenced with rivers and defiles; here was no leaguers in the field, as at the story of Nuremberg, neither had our soldiers any tents, or what they call heavy baggage. It was the general maxim of this war, Where is the enemy? let us go and fight them: or, on the other hand, if the enemy was coming, What was to be done? why, what should be done? draw out into the fields, and fight them. I cannot say it was the prudence of the parties, and had the king fought less he had gained more; and I shall remark several times, when the eager-

ness of fighting was the worst council, and proved our loss. This benefit however happened in general to the country, that it made a quick, though a bloody end, of the war, which otherwise had lasted till it might have ruined the whole nation.

On the 10th of October the king's army was in full march, his majesty generalissimo, the Earl of Lindsey, general of the foot, Prince Rupert, general of the horse; and the first action in the field was by Prince Rupert and Sir John Biron. Sir John had brought his body of five hundred horse, as I noted already, from Oxford to Worcester; the Lord Say, with a strong party, being in the neighbourhood of Oxford, and expected in the town; Colonel Sandys, a hot man, and who had more courage than judgment, advances with about fifteen hundred horse and dragoons, with design to beat Sir John Biron out of Worcester, and take post there for the parliament.

The king had notice that the Earl of Essex designed for Worcester, and Prince Rupert was ordered to advance with a body of horse and dragoons, to face the enemy, and bring off Sir John Biron. This his majesty did to amuse the Earl of Essex, that he might expect him that way; whereas the king's design was to get between the Earl of Essex's army and the city of London; and his majesty's end was doubly answered; for he not only drew Essex on to Worcester, where he spent more time than he needed, but he beat the party into the bargain.

I went volunteer in this party, and rid in my father's regiment; for though we really expected not to see the enemy, yet I was tired with lying still. We came to Worcester just as notice was brought to Sir John Biron that a party of the enemy was on their march for Worcester, upon which the prince, immediately consulting what was to be done, resolves to march the next morning, and fight them.

The enemy, who lay at Pershore, about eight miles from Worcester, and, as I believe, had no notice of our march, came on very confidently in the morning, and found us fairly drawn up to receive them; I must confess this was the bluntest downright way of making war that ever was seen. The enemy, who, in all the little knowledge I had of war, ought to have discovered our numbers, and guessed by our posture what our design was, might easily have informed themselves that we intended to attack them, and so might have secured the advantage of a bridge in their front; but, without any regard to these methods of policy, they came on at all hazards. Upon this notice, my father proposed to the prince to halt for them, and suffer ourselves to be attacked, since we found them willing to give us the advantage; the prince approved of the advice, so we halted within view of a bridge, leaving space enough on our front for about half the number of their forces to pass and draw up; and at the bridge was posted about fifty dragoons, with orders to retire as soon as the enemy advanced, as if they had been afraid. On the right of the road was a ditch, and a very high bank behind, where we had placed three hundred dragoons, with orders to lie flat on their faces till the enemy had passed the bridge, and to let fly among them as soon as our trumpets sounded a charge. Nobody but Colonel Sandys would have been caught in such a snare; for he might easily have seen that, when he was over the bridge, there was not room enough for him to fight in.

As we expected, they appeared, beat our dragoons from the bridge, and passed it; we stood firm in one line with a reserve, and expected a charge; but Colonel Sandys, showing a great deal more judgment than we thought he was master of, extends himself to the left, finding the ground too straight, and began to form his men with a great deal of readiness and skill; for by this time he saw our number was greater than he expected. The prince perceiving it,

and foreseeing that the stratagem of the dragoons would be frustrated by this, immediately charges with the horse, and the dragoons at the same time standing upon their feet; poured in their shot upon those that were passing the bridge; this surprise put them into such disorder that we had but little work with them; for though Colonel Sandys, with the troops next him, sustained the shock very well, and behaved themselves gallantly enough, yet, the confusion beginning in their rear, those that had not yet passed the bridge were kept back by the fire of the dragoons, and the rest were easily cut in pieces. Colonel Sandys was mortally wounded and taken prisoner, and the crowd was so great to get back, that many were pushed into the water, and were rather smothered than drowned. Some of them who never came into the fight were so frightened that they never looked behind them, till they came to Pershore; and, as we were afterwards informed, the life-guards of the general who had quartered in the town, left it in disorder enough, expecting us at the heels of their men.

If our business had been to keep the parliament army from coming to Worcester, we had a very good opportunity to have secured the bridge at Pershore; but our design lay another way, as I have said, and the king was for drawing Essex on to the Severn, in hopes to get behind him, which fell out accordingly.

Essex, spurred by this affront in the infancy of their affairs, advances the next day, and came to Pershore time enough to be at the funeral of some of his men; and from thence he advances to Worcester.

We marched back to Worcester extremely pleased with the good success of our first attack; and our men were so flushed with this little victory, that it put vigour into the whole army. The enemy lost about three thousand men, and we carried away near one hundred and fifty prisoners, with five hundred horses, some standards and arms, and,

among the prisoners, their colonel, but he died a little after of his wounds.

Upon the approach of the enemy; Worcester was quitted, and the forces marched back to join the king's army, which lay then at Bridgenorth, Ludlow, and thereabout. As the king expected, it fell out; Essex found so much work at Worcester to settle parliament quarters, and secure Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford, that it gave the king a full day's march of him; so the king, having the start of him, moves towards London; and Essex, nettled to be both beaten in fight, and outdone in conduct, decamps, and follows the king.

The parliament, and the Londoners too, were in a strange consternation at this mistake of their general; and had the king, whose great misfortune was always to follow precipitant advices, — had the king, I say, pushed on his first design, which he had formed with very good reason, and for which he had been dodging with Essex eight or ten days, viz., of marching directly to London, where he had a very great interest, and where his friends were not yet oppressed and impoverished, as they were afterwards, he had turned the scale of his affairs; and every man expected it; for the members began to shift for themselves, expresses were sent on the heels of one another to the Earl of Essex, to hasten after the king, and, if possible, to bring him to a battle. Some of these letters fell into our hands, and we might easily discover that the parliament were in the last confusion at the thoughts of our coming to London; besides this, the city was in a worse fright than the house, and the great moving men began to go out of town. In short, they expected us, and we expected to come; but providence, for our ruin, had otherwise determined it.

Essex, upon news of the king's march, and upon receipt of the parliament's letters, makes long marches after us, and on the 23rd of October reaches the village of Keynton, in

Warwickshire. The king was almost as far as Banbury, and there calls a council of war. Some of the old officers that foresaw the advantage the king had, the concern the city was in, and the vast addition, both to the reputation of his forces and the increase of his interest, it would be, if the king could gain that point, urged the king to march on to London. Prince Rupert, and the best colonels, pressed for fighting; told the king it dispirited their men to march with the enemy at their heels; that the parliament army was inferior to him by six thousand men, and fatigued with hasty marching; that as their orders were to fight, he had nothing to do but to post himself to advantage, and receive them to their destruction; that the action near Worcester had let them know how easy it was to deal with a rash enemy; and that it was a dishonour for him, whose forces were so much superior, to be pursued by his subjects in rebellion. These and the like arguments prevailed with the king to alter his wiser measures, and resolve to fight. Nor was this all; when a resolution of fighting was taken, that part of the advice which they who were for fighting gave as a reason for their opinion was forgot, and, instead of halting, and posting ourselves to advantage till the enemy came up, we were ordered to march back and meet them.

Nay, so eager was the prince for fighting, that when from the top of Edgell, the enemy's army was descried in the bottom between them and the village of Keynton, and that the enemy had bid us defiance, by discharging three cannons, we accepted the challenge, and answering with two shots from our army, we must needs forsake the advantage of the hills, which they must have mounted under the command of our cannon, and march down to them into the plain. I confess, I thought here was a great deal more gallantry than discretion; for it was plainly taking an advantage out of our own hands, and putting it into the hands of the enemy. An enemy that must fight, may always be fought

with to advantage. My old hero, the glorious Gustavus Adolphus, was as forward to fight as any man of true valour, mixed with any policy, need to be, or ought to be; but he used to say, an enemy, reduced to a necessity of fighting, is half beaten.

It is true, we were all but young in the war; the soldiers hot and forward, and eagerly desired to come to hands with the enemy. But I take the more notice of it here, because the king in this acted against his own measures; for it was the king himself had laid the design of getting the start of Essex, and marching to London. His friends had invited him thither, and expected him, and suffered deeply for the omission; and yet he gave way to these hasty counsels, and suffered his judgment to be overruled by majority of voices; an error, I say, the King of Sweden was never guilty of; for if all the officers at a council of war were of a different opinion, yet, unless their reasons mastered his judgment, their votes never altered his measures; but this was the error of our good, but unfortunate master, three times in this war, and particularly in two of the greatest battles of the time, viz., this of Edgehill, and that of Naseby.

The resolution for fighting being published in the army, gave an universal joy to the soldiers, who expressed an extraordinary ardour for fighting. I remember my father, talking with me about it, asked me what I thought of the approaching battle; I told him, I thought the king had done very well; for at that time I did not consult the extent of the design, and had a mighty mind, like other rash people, to see it brought to a day, which made me answer my father as I did. But, said I, sir, I doubt there will be but indifferent doings on both sides, between two armies both made up of fresh men, that had never seen any service. "My father minded little what I spoke of that; but, when I seemed pleased that the king had resolved to fight, he looked angrily

at me, and told me he was sorry. I could see no farther into things. I tell you, says he, hastily, if the king should kill and take prisoners this whole army, general and all, the parliament will have the victory; for we have lost more by slipping this opportunity of getting into London, than we shall ever get by ten battles. I saw enough of this afterwards to convince me of the weight of what my father said, and so did the king too; but it was then too late; advantages slip in war are never recovered.

We were now in a full march to fight the Earl of Essex. It was on Sunday morning the 24th of October, 1642, fair weather over head, but the ground very heavy and dirty. As soon as we came to the top of Edgehill, we discovered their whole army. They were not drawn up, having had two miles to march that morning; but they were very busy forming their lines, and posting the regiments as they came up. Some of their horse were exceedingly fatigued, having marched forty-eight hours together; and had they been suffered to follow us three or four days' march farther, several of their regiments of horse would have been quite ruined, and their foot would have been rendered unserviceable for the present. But we had no patience.

As soon as our whole army was come to the top of the hill, we were drawn up in order of battle; the king's army made a very fine appearance; and indeed they were a body of gallant men as ever appeared in the field, and as well furnished at all points; the horse exceeding well accoutred, being most of them gentlemen and volunteers; some whole regiments serving without pay. Their horses very good and fit for service as could be desired. The whole army were not above eighteen thousand men, and the enemy not one thousand over or under. though we had been told they were not above twelve thousand; but they had been reinforced with four thousand men from Northampton.

The king was with the general, the Earl of Lindsey, in

the main battle ; Prince Rupert commanded the right wing, and the Marquis of Hertford, the Lord Willoughby, and several other very good officers, the left.

The signal of battle being given with two cannon shot, we marched in order of battalia down the hill, being drawn up in two lines, with bodies of reserve ; the enemy advanced to meet us much in the same form, with this difference only, that they had placed their cannon on their right, and the king had placed ours in the centre, before, or rather between two great brigades of foot. Their cannon began with us first, and did some mischief among the dragoons of our left wing ; but our officers perceiving the shot took the men and missed the horses, ordered all to alight, and every man leading his horse to advance in the same order ; and this saved our men, for most of the enemy's shot flew over their heads. Our cannon made a terrible execution upon their foot for a quarter of an hour, and put them into great confusion, till the general obliged them to halt, and changed the posture of his front, marching round a small rising ground, by which he avoided the fury of our artillery.

By this time the wings were engaged, the king having given the signal of battle, and ordered the right wing to fall on. Prince Rupert, who, as is said, commanded that wing, fell on with such fury, and pushed the left wing of the parliament army so effectually, that in a moment he filled all with terror and confusion. Commissary-general Ramsey, a Scotchman, a Low Country soldier, and an experienced officer, commanded their left wing, and though he did all that an expert soldier and a brave commander could do, yet it was to no purpose ; his lines were immediately broken, and all overwhelmed in a trice : two regiments of foot, whether as part of the left wing, or on the left of the main body, I know not, were disordered by their own horse, and rather trampled to death by the horses, than beaten by our men ; but they were so entirely broken and disordered, that

I do not remember that ever they made one volley upon our men; for their own horse running away, and falling foul on these foot, were so vigorously followed by our men, that the foot never had a moment to rally or look behind them. The point of the left wing of horse were not so soon broken as the rest, and three regiments of them stood firm for some time: the dexterous officers of the other regiments taking the opportunity, rallied a great many of their scattered men behind them, and pieced in some troops with those regiments; but after two or three charges, which a brigade of our second line, following the prince, made upon them, they also were broken with the rest.

I remember, that at the great battle of Leipsic, the right wing of the imperialists having fallen in upon the Saxons with like fury to this, bore down all before them, and beat the Saxons quite out of the field; upon which the soldiers cried, *Victoria!* Let us follow! No, no, said the old general Tilly, let them go, but let us beat the Swedes too, and then all's our own. Had Prince Rupert taken this method, and instead of following the fugitives, who were dispersed so effectually, that two regiments would have secured them from rallying; I say, had he fallen in upon the foot, or wheeled to the left, and fallen in upon the rear of the enemy's right wing of horse, or returned to the assistance of the left wing of our horse, we had gained the most absolute and complete victory that could be; nor had one thousand men of the enemy's army got off: but this prince, who was full of fire, and pleased to see the rout of the enemy, pursued them quite to the town of Keynton, where indeed he killed abundance of their men, and some time also was lost in plundering the baggage: but in the mean time, the glory and advantage of the day was lost to the king; for the right wing of the parliament horse could not be so broken. Sir William Balfour made a desperate charge upon the point of the king's left; and had it not been for two regiments of dragoons, who

were planted in the reserve, had routed the whole wing; for he broke through the first line, and staggered the second, who advanced to their assistance, but was so warmly received by those dragoons, who came seasonably in, and gave their first fire on horseback, that his fury was checked, and having lost a great many men, was forced to wheel about to his own men; and had the king had but three regiments of horse at hand, to have charged him, he had been routed. The rest of this wing kept their ground, and received the first fury of the enemy with great firmness; after which, advancing in their turn, they were once masters of the Earl of Essex's cannon. And here we lost another advantage: for if any foot had been at hand to support these horse, they had carried off the cannon, or turned it upon the main battle of the enemy's foot; but the foot were otherwise engaged. The horse on this side fought with great obstinacy and variety of success a great while, Sir Philip Stapylton, who commanded the guards of the Earl of Essex, being engaged with a party of our Shrewsbury cavaliers, as we called them, was once in a fair way to have been cut off by a brigade of our foot, who, being advanced to fall on upon the parliament's main body, flanked Sir Philip's horse in their way, and, facing to the left, so furiously charged him with their pikes, that he was obliged to retire in great disorder, and with the loss of a great many men and horses.

All this while the foot on both sides were desperately engaged, and coming close up to the teeth of one another with the clubbed musket and push of pike, fought with great resolution, and a terrible slaughter on both sides, giving no quarter for a great while; and they continued to do thus, till, as if they were tired and out of wind, either party seemed willing enough to leave off, and take breath. Those which suffered most were that brigade which had charged Sir William Stapylton's horse, who, being bravely engaged in the front with the enemy's foot, were, on a sudden,

charged again in front and flank, by Sir William Balfour's horse, and disordered, after a very desperate defence. Here the king's standard was taken, the standard-bearer, Sir Edward Varney, being killed; but it was rescued again by Captain Smith, and brought to the king the same night, for which the king knighted the captain.

This brigade of foot had fought all the day, and had not been broken at last, if any horse had been at hand to support them. The field began to be now clear, both armies stood, as it were, gazing at one another, only the king, having rallied his foot, seemed inclined to renew the charge, and began to cannonade them, which they could not return, most of their cannon being nailed while they were in our possession, and all the cannoneers killed or fled, and our gunners did execution upon Sir William Balfour's troops for a good while.

My father's regiment being in the right with the prince, I saw little of the fight, but the rout of the enemy's left, and we had as full a victory there as we could desire, but spent too much time in it. We killed about two thousand men in that part of the action, and having totally dispersed them, and plundered their baggage, began to think of our fellows when it was too late to help them. We returned, however, victorious to the king, just as the battle was over; the king asked the prince what news? He told him he could give his majesty a good account of the enemy's horse: Ay, says a gentleman that stood by me, and of their carts too. That word was spoken with such a sense of their misfortune, and made such an impression in the whole army, that it occasioned some ill blood afterwards among us; and, but that the king took up the business, it had been of ill consequence: for some person who had heard the gentleman speak it, informed the prince who it was, and the prince resenting it, spoke something about it in the hearing of the party when the king was present. The gentleman, not at all sur-

prised, told his highness openly he had said the words; and though he owned he had no disrespect for his highness, yet he could not but say, if it had not been so, the enemy's army had been better beaten. The prince replied something very disobliging; upon which the gentleman came up to the king, and kneeling, humbly besought his majesty to accept of his commission, and to give him leave to tell the prince, that, whenever his highness pleased, he was ready to give him satisfaction. The prince was exceedingly provoked, and, as he was very passionate, began to talk very oddly, and without all government of himself. The gentleman, as bold as he, but much calmer, preserved his temper, but maintained his quarrel; and the king was so concerned, that he was very much out of humour with the prince about it. However, his majesty, upon consideration, soon ended the dispute, by laying his commands on them both to speak no more of it for that day; and refusing the commission from the colonel, for he was no less, sent for them both next morning in private, and made them friends again.

But to return to our story; we came back to the king timely enough to put the Earl of Essex's men out of all humour of renewing the fight; and, as I observed before, both parties stood gazing at one another, and our cannon playing upon them, obliged Sir William Balfour's horse to wheel off in some disorder, but they returned us none again; which, as we afterwards understood, was, as I said before, for want of both powder and gunners; for the cannoneers and firemen were killed, or had quitted their train in the fight, when our horse had possession of their artillery; and as they had spiked up some of the cannon, so they had carried away fifteen carriages of powder.

Night coming on, ended all discourse of more fighting; and the king drew off and marched towards the hills. I know no other token of victory which the enemy had, than

their lying in the field of battle all night, which they did for no other reason, than that, having lost their baggage and provisions, they had no where to go; and which we did not because we had good quarters at hand.

The number of prisoners and of the slain, were not very unequal; the enemy lost more men, we most of quality. Six thousand men on both sides were killed on the spot, whereof, when our rolls were examined, we missed two thousand five hundred. We lost our brave general the old Earl of Lindsey, who was wounded and taken prisoner, and died of his wounds; Sir Edward Stradling, Colonel Lundsford, prisoners; and Sir Edward Varney, and a great many gentlemen of quality, slain. On the other hand, we carried off Colonel Essex, Colonel Ramsey, and the Lord St. John, who also died of his wounds; we took five ammunition waggons full of powder, and brought off about five hundred horse in the defeat of the left wing, with eighteen standards and colours, and lost seventeen.

The slaughter of the left wing was so great, and the flight so effectual, that several of the officers rid clear away, coasting round, and got to London, where they reported that the parliament army was entirely defeated, all lost, killed, or taken, as if none but them were left alive to carry the news. This filled them with consternation for a while, but when other messengers followed all was restored to quiet again, and the parliament cried up their victory, and sufficiently mocked God and their general, with their public thanks for it. Truly, as the fight was a deliverance to them, they were in the right to give thanks for it; but as to its being a victory, neither side had much to boast of, and they less a great deal than we had.

I got no hurt in this fight; and, indeed, we of the right wing had but little fighting; I think I discharged my pistols but once and my carabine twice, for we had more fatigue than fight; the enemy fled, and we had little to do but to

follow and kill those we could overtake. I spoiled a good horse, and got a better from the enemy in his room, and came home weary enough. My father lost his horse, and, in the fall, was bruised in his thigh by another horse treading on him, which disabled him for some time, and, at his request, by his majesty's consent, I commanded the regiment in his absence.

The enemy received a recruit of four thousand men the next morning; if they had not, I believe they had gone back towards Worcester; but, encouraged by that reinforcement, they called a council of war, and had a long debate whether they could attack us again; but, notwithstanding their great victory, they durst not attempt it, though this addition of strength made them superior to us by three thousand men.

The king, indeed, expected that when these troops joined them they would advance, and we were preparing to receive them at a village called Arno, where the head-quarter continued three or four days; and, had they really esteemed the first day's work a victory, as they called it, they would have done it, but they thought not good to venture, but marched away to Warwiçk, and from thence to Coventry. The king, to urge them to venture upon him, and come to a second battle, sits down before Banbury, and takes both town and castle, and makes two entire regiments of foot, and one troop of horse, quit the parliament service, and take up their arms for the king. This was done almost before their faces, which was a better proof of a victory on our side than they could pretend to. From Banbury we marched to Oxford; and now all men saw the parliament had made a great mistake, for they were not always in the right any more than we, to leave Oxford without a garrison. The king caused new regular works to be drawn round it, and seven royal bastions, with ravelins and outworks, a double ditch, counterscarp, and covered way; all which,

added to the advantage of its situation, made it a formidable place, and from this time it became our place of arms, and the centre of affairs on the king's side.

If the parliament had the honour of the field, the king reaped the fruits of the victory; for all this part of the country submitted to him. Essex's army made the best of their way to London, and were but in an ill condition when they came there, especially their horse.

The parliament, sensible of this, and receiving daily accounts of the progress we made, began to cool a little in their temper, abated of their first rage, and voted an address for peace; and sent to the king to let him know they were desirous to prevent the effusion of more blood, and to bring things to an accommodation, or, as they called it, a right understanding.

I was now, by the king's particular favour, summoned to the councils of war, my father continuing absent and ill; and now I began to think of the real grounds, and, which was more, of the fatal issue of this war. I say, I now began it, for I cannot say that I ever rightly stated matters in my own mind before, though I had been enough used to blood, and to see the destruction of people, sacking of towns, and plundering the country; yet it was in Germany, and among strangers; but I found a strange, secret, and unaccountable sadness upon my spirits to see this acting in my own native country. It grieved me to the heart, even in the rout of our enemies, to see the slaughter of them; and even in the fight, to hear a man cry for quarter in English, moved me to a compassion which I had never been used to, nay, sometimes it looked to me as if some of my own men had been beaten; and when I heard a soldier cry, O God, I am shot! I looked behind me to see which of my own troop was fallen. Here I saw myself at the cutting of the throats of my friends; and, indeed, some of my near relations. My old comrades and fellow-soldiers in Germany

were some with us, some against us, as their opinions happened to differ in religion. For my part, I confess I had not much religion in me at that time; but I thought religion, rightly practised on both sides, would have made us all better friends; and, therefore, sometimes I began to think, that both the bishops of our side, and the preachers on theirs, made religion rather the pretence than the cause of the war; and from those thoughts I vigorously argued it at the council of war against marching to Brentford, while the address for a treaty of peace from the parliament was in hand; for I was for taking the parliament by the handle which they had given us, and entering into a negotiation with the advantage of its being at their own request.

I thought the king had now in his hands an opportunity to make an honourable peace; for this battle of Edgehill, as much as they boasted of the victory to hearten up their friends, had sorely weakened their army, and discouraged their party too, which in effect was worse as to their army. The horse were particularly in an ill case, and the foot greatly diminished; and the remainder very sickly. But, besides this, the parliament were greatly alarmed at the progress we made afterwards; and still fearing the king's surprising them, had sent for the Earl of Essex to London to defend them; by which the country was, as it were, deserted and abandoned, and left to be plundered; our parties overrun all places at pleasure. All this while I considered, that whatever the soldiers of fortune meant by the war, our desires were to suppress the exorbitant power of a party, to establish our king in his just and legal rights; but not with a design to destroy the constitution of government, and the being of parliament; and therefore I thought now was the time for peace, and there were a great many worthy gentlemen in the army of my mind; and, had our master had ears to hear us, the war might have had an end here.

This address for peace was received by the king at

Maidenhead, whither his army was now advanced, and his majesty returned answer by Sir Peter Killigrew, that he desired nothing more; and would not be wanting on his part. Upon this the parliament named commissioners, and his majesty, excepting against Sir John Evelyn, they left him out, and sent others; and desired the king to appoint his residence near London, where the commissioners might wait upon him. Accordingly the king appointed Windsor for the place of treaty, and desired the treaty might be hastened. And thus all things looked with a favourable aspect, when one unlucky action knocked it all on the head, and filled both parties with more implacable animosities than they had before, and all hopes of peace vanished.

During this progress of the king's armies, we were always abroad with the horse ravaging the country, and plundering the roundheads. Prince Rupert, a most active vigilant party-man, and, I must own, fitter for such than for a general, was never lying still, and I seldom stayed behind; for our regiment being very well mounted, he would always send for us, if he had any extraordinary design in hand.

I cannot deny but these flying parties of horse committed great spoil among the country people; and sometimes the prince gave a liberty to some cruelties which were not at all for the king's interest; because, it being still upon our own country, and the king's own subjects, whom, in all his declarations, he protested to be careful of, it seemed to contradict all those protestations and declarations, and served to aggravate and exasperate the common people; and the king's enemies made all the advantages of it that was possible, by crying out of twice as many extravagancies as were committed.

It is true the king, who naturally abhorred such things, could not restrain his men, no nor his generals, so absolutely as he would have done. • The war, on his side, was very much *à la volentier*; many gentlemen served him at their

own charge, and some, paid whole regiments themselves. Sometimes also the king's affairs were straiter than ordinary, and his men were not very well paid, and this obliged him to wink at their excursions upon the country, though he did not approve of them; and yet, I must own, that in those parts of England where the war was hottest, there never was seen that ruin and depopulation, murders, and barbarities, which I have seen even among protestant armies abroad in Germany, and other foreign parts of the world. And if the parliament people had seen those things abroad, as I had, they would not have complained.

The most I have seen was plundering the towns for provisions, drinking up their beer, and turning our horses into their fields, or stacks of corn; but, alas! what was this to Count Tilly's ravages in Saxony? Or what was our taking of Leicester by storm, where they cried out of our barbarities, to the sacking of New Brandenburg, or the taking of Magdeburgh? In Leicester, of seven or eight thousand people in the town, three hundred were killed; in Magdeburgh, of twenty-five thousand, scarce two thousand seven hundred were left, and the whole town burnt to ashes. I myself have seen seventeen or eighteen villages on fire in a day, and the people driven away from their dwellings, like herds of cattle; the men murdered, the women stript, and seven or eight hundred of them together, after they had suffered all the indignities and abuses of the soldiers, driven stark naked in the winter through the great towns, to seek shelter and relief from the charity of their enemies. I do not instance these greater barbarities to justify the lesser actions, which are nevertheless irregular; but, I do say, that circumstances considered, this war was managed with as much humanity on both sides as could be expected, especially also considering the animosity of parties.

But, to return to the king. His majesty, as I observed, was at Maidenhead addressed by the parliament for peace,

and Windsor being appointed for the place of treaty, the van of his army lay at Colnbrook. In the meantime, whether it were true; or only a pretence, but it was reported the parliament-general had sent a body of his troops, with a train of artillery, to Hammersmith, in order to fall upon some part of our army, or to take some advanced post, which was to the prejudice of our men; whereupon, the king ordered the army to march, and, by the favour of a thick mist, came within half a mile of Brentford before he was discovered. There were two regiments of foot, and about six hundred horse in the town, of the enemy's best troops; these taking the alarm, posted themselves on the bridge at the west end of the town. The king attacked them with a select detachment of his best infantry, and they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. I must own, I never saw raw men, for they could not have been in arms above four months, act like them in my life. In short, there was no forcing these men; for, though two whole brigades of our foot, backed by our horse, made five several attacks upon them, they could not break them, and we lost a great many brave men in that action. At last, seeing the obstinacy of these men, a party of horse was ordered to go round from Osterly; and, entering the town on the north side, where, though the horse made some resistance, it was not considerable; the town was presently taken. I led my regiment through an enclosure, and came into the town nearer to the bridge than the rest, by which means I got first into the town; but I had this loss by my expedition, that the foot charged me before the body was come up, and poured in their shot very furiously; my men were but in an ill case, and would not have stood much longer, if the rest of the horse coming up the lane had not found them other employment. When the horse were thus entered, they immediately dispersed the enemy's horse, who fled away towards London, and falling sword in hand

upon the rear of the foot, who were engaged at the bridge, they were all cut in pieces, except about two hundred, who, scorning to ask quarter, desperately threw themselves into the river Thames, where they were most of them drowned.

The parliament and their party made a great outcry at this attempt; that it was base and treacherous while in a treaty of peace; and that the king, having amused them with hearkening to a treaty, designed to have seized upon their train of artillery first, and after that, to have surprised both the city of London and the parliament. And I have observed since, that our historians note this action as contrary to the laws of honour and treaties; though, as there was no cessation of arms agreed on, nothing is more contrary to the laws of war than to suggest it.

That it was a very unhappy thing to the king and whole nation, as it broke off the hopes of peace, and was the occasion of bringing the Scots' army in upon us, I readily acknowledge; but that there was anything dishonourable in it, I cannot allow: for, though the parliament had addressed to the king for peace, and such steps were taken in it, as before, yet, as I have said, there was no proposal made on either side for a cessation of arms; and all the world must allow, that in such cases the war goes on in the field, while the peace goes on in the cabinet. And if the war goes on, admit the king had designed to surprise the city or parliament, or all of them, it had been no more than the custom of war allows, and what they would have done by him, if they could. The treaty of Westphalia, or peace of Munster, which ended the bloody wars of Germany, was a precedent for this. That treaty was actually negotiating seven years, and yet the war went on with all the vigour and rancour imaginable, even to the last: nay, the very time after the conclusion of it, but before the news could be brought to the army, did he, that was afterwards King of Sweden, Carolus Gustavus, take the city of Prague, by

surprise, and therein an incalculable booty. Besides, all the wars of Europe are full of examples of this kind; and, therefore, I cannot see any reason to blame the king for this action as to the fairness of it. Indeed, as to the policy of it, I can say little; but the case was this, the king had a gallant army, flushed with success, and things hitherto had gone on very prosperously, both with his own army and elsewhere; he had above thirty-five thousand men in his own army, including his garrisons left at Banbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, Reading, and places adjacent. On the other hand, the parliament army came back to London in but a sorry condition; for, what with their loss in their victory, as they called it, at Edgehill, their sickness, and a hasty march to London, they were very much diminished; though at London they soon recruited them again. And this prosperity of the king's affairs might encourage him to strike this blow, thinking to bring the parliament to better terms, by the apprehensions of the superior strength of the king's forces.

But, however it was, the success did not equally answer the king's expectation; the vigorous defence the troops posted at Brentford made as above, gave the Earl of Essex opportunity, with extraordinary application, to draw his forces out to Turnham-green; and the exceeding alacrity of the enemy was such, that their whole army appeared with them, making together an army of twenty-four thousand men, drawn up in view of our forces, by eight o'clock the next morning. The city regiments were placed between the regular troops, and all together offered us battle; but we were not in a condition to accept it. The king indeed, was sometimes of the mind to charge them, and once or twice ordered parties to advance to begin to skirmish, but, upon better advice, altered his mind; and indeed, it was the wisest counsel to defer the fighting at that time. The parliament generals were as unfixed in their resolutions on

the other side, as the king: sometimes they sent out parties, and then called them back again. One strong party, of near three thousand men, marched off towards Acton, with orders to amuse us on that side, but were countermanded. Indeed, I was of the opinion we might have ventured the battle; for, though the parliament's army were more numerous, yet the city trained bands, which made up four thousand of their foot, were not much esteemed, and the king was a great deal stronger in horse than they; but the main reason that hindered the engagement was want of ammunition, which the king having duly weighed, he caused the carriages and cannon to draw off first, and then the foot, the horse continuing to face the enemy till all was clear gone, and then we drew off too, and marched to Kingston, and the next day to Reading.

Now the king saw his mistake in not continuing his march for London, instead of facing about to fight the enemy at Edgehill. And all the honour we had gained in so many successful enterprises lay buried in this shameful retreat from an army of citizen's wives. For, truly, that appearance at Turnham-green was gay, but not great. There were as many lookers-on as actors; the crowd of ladies, apprentices, and mob, was so great, that, when the parties of our army advanced, and, as they thought, to charge, the coaches, horsemen, and crowd, that clattered away, to be out of harm's way, looked little better than a rout; and I was persuaded a good home charge from our horse would have sent their whole army after them: but so it was, that this crowd of an army was to triumph over us, and they did it; for all the kingdom was carefully informed how their dreadful looks had frightened us away.

Upon our retreat, the parliament resent this attack, which they call treacherous, and vote no accommodation; but they considered of it afterwards, and sent six commissioners to the king with propositions; but the change of the scene of action

changed the terms of peace, and now they made terms like conquerors, petition him to desert his army, and return to the parliament, and the like. Had his majesty, at the head of his army, with the full reputation they had before, and in the ebb of their affairs, rested at Windsor, and commenced a treaty, they had certainly made more reasonable proposals; but now the scabbard seemed to be thrown away on both sides.

The rest of the winter was spent in strengthening parties and places; also in fruitless treaties of peace, messages, remonstrances, and paper war, on both sides, and no action remarkable happened anywhere, that I remember. Yet the king gained ground everywhere, and his forces in the north increased under the Earl of Newcastle; also my Lord Goring, then only called Colonel Goring, arrived from Holland, bringing three ships loaden with arms and ammunition, and notice that the queen was following with more. Goring brought four thousand barrels of gunpowder, and twenty thousand small arms; all which came very seasonably, for the king was in great want of them, especially the powder. Upon this recruit, the Earl of Newcastle draws down to York, and being above a thousand strong, made Sir Thomas Fairfax give ground, and retreat to Hull.

Whoever lay still, Prince Rupert was always abroad, and I chose to go out with his highness as often as I had opportunity; for hitherto he was always successful. About this time the prince being at Oxford, I gave him intelligence of a party of the enemy who lived a little at large, too much for good soldiers, about Cirencester: the prince, glad of the news, resolved to attack them; and though it was a wet season, and the ways exceeding bad, being in February, yet we marched all night in the dark, which occasioned the loss of some horses and men too, in sloughs and holes, which the darkness of the night had suffered them to fall into. We were a very strong party, being about three thousand horse

and dragoons, and coming to Cirencester very early in the morning, to our great satisfaction the enemy were perfectly surprised, not having the least notice of our march, which answered our end more ways than one. However, the Earl of Stamford's regiment made some resistance; but the town having no works to defend it, saving a slight breastwork at the entrance of the road, with a turnpike, our dragoons alighted, and forcing their way over the bellies of Stamford's foot, they beat them from their defence, and followed them at their heels into the town. Stamford's regiment was entirely cut in pieces, and several others, to the number of about eight hundred men, and the town entered without any other resistance. We took twelve hundred prisoners, three thousand arms, and the county magazine, which at that time was considerable; for there was about one hundred and twenty barrels of powder, and all things in proportion.

I received the first hurt I got in this war, at this action; for having followed the dragoons, and brought my regiment within the barricado which they had gained, a musket-bullet struck my horse just in the head, and that so effectually, that he fell down as dead as a stone, all at once. The fall plunged me into a puddle of water, and daubed me, and my man having brought me another horse, and cleaned me a little, I was just getting up, when another bullet struck me on my left hand, which I had just clapped on the horse's mane, to lift myself into the saddle. The blow broke one of my fingers, and bruised my hand very much, and it proved a very painful hurt to me. For the present I did not much concern myself about it, but made my man tie it up close in my handkerchief, and led up my men to the market-place, where we had a very smart brush with some musketeers who were posted in the churchyard; but our dragoons soon beat them out there; and the whole town was then our own. We made no stay here, but marched back with all our booty to Oxford, for we knew the enemy were very strong at Gloucester, and that way.

Much about the same time, the Earl of Northampton, with a strong party, set upon Lichfield, and took the town, but could not take the close; but they beat a body of four thousand men coming to the relief of the town, under Sir John Gell, of Derbyshire, and Sir William Brereton of Cheshire, and killing six hundred of them, dispersed the rest.

Our second campaign now began to open; the king marched from Oxford to relieve Reading, which was besieged by the parliament forces; but Colonel Fielding, lieutenant-governor, Sir Arthur Ashton being wounded, surrendered to Essex before the king could come up; for which he was tried by martial law, and condemned to die, but the king forebore to execute the sentence. This was the first town we had lost in the war; for still the success of the king's affairs was very encouraging. This bad news however was overbalanced by an account brought the king at the same time, by an express from York, that the queen had landed in the north, and had brought over a great magazine of arms and ammunition, besides some men. Some time after this, her majesty marching southward to meet the king, joined the army near Edgehill, where the first battle was fought. She brought the king three thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse and dragoons, six pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred barrels of powder, and twelve thousand small arms.

During this prosperity of the king's affairs, his armies increased mightily in the western counties also. Sir William Waller indeed commanded for the parliament in those parts too, and particularly in Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where he carried on their cause but too fast; but farther west, Sir Nicholas Flamming, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Sir Bevil Greenvil, had extended the king's quarters from Cornwall through Devonshire, and into Somersetshire, where they took Exeter, Barnstaple, and Biddeford; and the first of these they fortified very well, making it a place of arms for the west, and afterwards it was the residence of the queen.

At last the famous Sir William Waller, and the king's forces met, and came to a pitched battle, where Sir William lost all his honour again. This was at Roundway-down, in Wiltshire.

Waller had engaged our Cornish army at Lansdown, and in a very obstinate fight had the better of them, and made them retreat to Devizes; Sir William Hopton, however, having a good body of foot untouched, sent expresses and messengers, one in the neck of another, to the king for some horse, and the king being in great concern for that army, who were composed of the flower of the Cornish men, commanded me to march with all possible secrecy, as well as expedition, with twelve hundred horse and dragoons from Oxford to join them. We set out in the depth of the night, to avoid, if possible, any intelligence being given of our route. and soon joined with the Cornish army, when it was soon resolved to give battle to Waller; and, give him his due, he was as forward to fight as we. As it is easy to meet when both sides are willing to be found, Sir William Waller met us upon Roundway-down, where we had a fair field on both sides, and room enough to draw up our horse. In a word, there was little ceremony to the work; the armies joined, and we charged his horse with so much resolution, that they quickly fled, and quitted the field; for we over-matched him in horse, and this was the entire destruction of their army: for their infantry, which outnumbered ours by fifteen hundred, were now at our mercy; some faint resistance they made, just enough to give us occasion to break into their ranks with our horse, where we gave time to our foot to defeat others that stood to their work; upon which they began to disband, and run every way they could, but our horse having surrounded them, we made a fearful havoc of them.

We lost not above two hundred men in this action; Waller lost above four thousand killed and taken, and as many dispersed that never returned to their colours; those of foot

that escaped got into Bristol, and Waller, with the poor remains of his routed regiments, got to London; so that it is plain some run east; and some run west, that is to say, they fled every way they could.

My going with this detachment prevented my being at the siege of Bristol, which Prince Rupert attacked much about the same time, and it surrendered in three days. The parliament questioned Colonel Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor, and had him tried as a coward by a court-martial, and condemned to die, but suspended the execution also, as the king did the Governor of Reading. I have often heard Prince Rupert say, they did Colonel Fiennes wrong in that affair; and that if the colonel would have summoned him, he would have demanded a passport of the parliament, and have come up and convinced the court, that Colonel Fiennes had not misbehaved himself; and that he had not a sufficient garrison to defend a city of that extent; having not above one thousand two hundred men in the town, excepting some of Waller's runaways, most of whom were unfit for service, and without arms; and that the citizens in general being disaffected to him, and ready on the first occasion to open the gates to the king's forces, it was impossible for him to have kept the city; and when I had farther informed them, said the prince, of the measures I had taken for a general assault the next day, I am confident I should have convinced them, that I had taken the city by storm, if he had not surrendered.

The king's affairs were now in a very good posture, and three armies in the north, west, and in the centre, counted in the musters above seventy thousand men, besides small garrisons and parties abroad. Several of the lords, and more of the commons, began to fall off from the parliament, and make their peace with the king; and the affairs of the parliament began to look very ill. The city of London was their inexhaustible support and magazine, both for men, money, and all things necessary; and whenever their army

was out of order, the clergy of their party in but one Sunday or two, would preach the young citizens out of their shops, the labourers from their masters; into the army, and recruit them on a sudden; and all this was still owing to the omission I first observed, of not marching to London, when it might have been so easily effected.

We had now another, or a fairer opportunity than before, but as ill use was made of it. The king, as I have observed, was in a very good posture; he had three large armies roving at large over the kingdom. The Cornish army, victorious and numerous, had beaten Waller, secured and fortified Exeter, which the queen had made her residence, and was there delivered of a daughter, the Princess Henrietta Maria, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, and mother of the Duchess Dowager of Savoy, commonly known in the French style by the title of Madame Royal. They had secured Salisbury, Sherborn Castle, Weymouth, Winchester, and Basing-house, and commanded the whole country, except Bridgewater and Taunton, Plymouth and Lynn; all which places they held blocked up. The king was also entirely master of all Wales, Monmouthshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Worcestershire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, and all the towns from Windsor up the Thames to Cirencester, except Reading and Henley; and of the whole Severn, except Gloucester.

The Earl of Newcastle had garrisons in every strong place in the north, from Berwick-upon-Tweed, to Boston in Lincolnshire, and Newark-upon-Trent, Hull only excepted, whither the Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas were retreated, their troops being routed and broken, Sir Thomas Fairfax, his baggage, with his lady and servants, taken prisoners, and himself hardly escaping.

And now a great council of war was held in the king's quarters, what enterprise to go upon; and it happened to be the very same day when the parliament were in a serious

debate what should become of them, and whose help they should seek? And indeed they had cause for it; and had our counsels been as ready and well grounded as theirs, we had put an end to the war in a month's time.

In this council the king proposed the marching to London, to put an end to the parliament, and encourage his friends and loyal subjects in Kent, who were ready to rise for him; and showed us letters from the Earl of Newcastle, wherein he offered to join his majesty with a detachment of four thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, if his majesty thought fit to march southward, and yet leave forces sufficient to guard the north from any invasion. I confess, when I saw the scheme the king had himself drawn for this attempt, I felt an unusual satisfaction in my mind, from the hopes that we might bring this war to some tolerable end; for I professed myself on all occasions heartily weary of fighting with friends, brothers, neighbours, and acquaintance; and I made no question, but this motion of the king's would effectually bring the parliament to reason.

All men seemed to like the enterprise but the Earl of Worcester; who, on particular views for securing the country behind, as he called it, proposed the taking in the towns of Gloucester and Hereford first. He made a long speech of the danger of leaving Massey, an active bold fellow, with a strong party, in the heart of all the king's quarters, ready on all occasions to sally out, and surprise the neighbouring garrisons, as he had done Sudley Castle and others; and of the ease and freedom to all those western parts, to have them fully cleared of the enemy. Interest presently backs this advice, and all those gentlemen whose estates lay that way, or whose friends lived about Worcester, Shrewsbury, Bridgenorth, or the borders; and who, as they said, had heard the frequent wishes of the country to have the city of Gloucester reduced, fell in with this advice, alleging the

consequence it was of for the commerce of the country, to have the navigation of the Severn free, which was only interrupted by this one town from the sea up to Shrewsbury, &c.

I opposed this, and so did several others: Prince Rupert was vehemently against it; and we both offered, with the troops of the county, to keep Gloucester blocked up during the king's march for London, so that Massey should not be able to stir.

This proposal made the Earl of Worcester's party more eager for the siege than before; for they had no mind to a blockade, which would lead the county to maintain the troops all the summer; and of all men, the prince did not please them; for he having no extraordinary character for discipline, his company was not much desired even by our friends. Thus, in an ill hour, it was resolved to sit down before Gloucester. The king had a gallant army of twenty-eight thousand men, whereof eleven thousand were horse, the finest body of gentlemen that ever I saw together in my life; their horses without comparison, and their equipages the finest and the best in the world, and their persons Englishmen, which, I think, is enough to say of them.

According to the resolution taken in the council of war, the army marched westwards, and sat down before Gloucester the beginning of August. There we spent a month to the least purpose that ever army did; our men received frequent affronts from the desperate sallies of an inconsiderable enemy. I cannot forbear reflecting on the misfortunes of the siege; our men were strangely dispirited in all the assaults they gave upon the place; there was something looked like disaster and mismanagement, and our men went on with an ill-will and no resolution. The king despised the place, and meaning to carry it sword in hand, made no regular approaches, and the garrison being desperate, made therefore the greater slaughter. In this work

our horse, who were so numerous and so fine, had no employment. Two thousand horse had been enough for this business, and the enemy had no garrison or party within forty miles of us; so that we had nothing to do but look on with infinite regret, upon the losses of our foot.

• The enemy made frequent and desperate sallies, in one of which I had my share. I was posted upon a parade, or place of arms, with part of my regiment, and part of Colonel Goring's regiment of horse, in order to support a body of foot, who were ordered to storm the point of a breastwork which the enemy had raised to defend one of the avenues to the town. The foot were beat off with loss, as they always were; and Massey, the governor, not content to have beaten them from his works, sallies out with near four hundred men, and, falling in upon the foot as they were rallying under the cover of our horse, we put ourselves in the best posture we could to receive them. As Massey did not expect, I suppose, to engage with any horse, he had no pikes with him, which encouraged us to treat him the more rudely; but as to desperate men danger is no danger, when he found he must clear his hands of us before he could despatch the foot, he fixes up to us, fires but one volley of his small shot, and fell to battering us with the stocks of their muskets in such a manner that one would have thought they had been madmen.

We at first despised this way of clubbing us, and, charging through them, laid a great many of them upon the ground; and, in repeating our charge, trampled more of them under our horses' feet; and wheeling thus continually, beat them off from our foot, who were just upon the point of disbanding. Upon this they charged us again with their fire and at one volley killed thirty-three or thirty-four men and horses; and had they had pikes with them, I know not what we should have done with them. But at last charging through them again, we divided them; one part of them,

being hemmed in between us and our own foot, were cut in pieces to a man; the rest, as I understood afterwards, retreated into the town, having lost three hundred of their men.

In this last charge I received a rude blow from a stout fellow on foot, with the butt-end of his musket, which perfectly stunned me and fetched me off from my horse; and had not some near me took care of me, I had been trod to death by our own men. But the fellow being immediately killed, and my friends finding me alive, had taken me up, and carried me off some distance, where I came to myself again, after some time, but knew little of what I did or said that night. This was the reason why I say I afterwards understood the enemy retreated; for I saw no more what they did then; nor indeed was I well of this blow for all the rest of the summer, but had frequent pains in my head, dizzinesses and swimming, that gave me some fears the blow had injured the skull, but it wore off again; nor did it at all hinder my attending my charge.

This action, I think, was the only one that looked like a defeat given the enemy at this siege; we killed them near three hundred men, as I have said, and lost about sixty of our troopers.

All this time, while the king was harrassing and weakening the best army he ever saw together during the whole war, the parliament generals, or rather preachers, were recruiting theirs; for the preachers were better than drummers to raise volunteers, zealously exhorting the London dames to part with their husbands, and the city to send some of their trained-bands to join the army for the relief of Gloucester; and now they began to advance towards us.

The king, hearing of the advance of Essex's army, who by this time was come to Aylesbury, had summoned what forces he had within call to join him; and, accordingly, he received three thousand foot from Somersetshire, and, hav-

ing battered the town for thirty-six hours, and made a fair breach, resolves upon an assault, if possible to carry the town before the enemy came up. The assault was begun about seven in the evening, and the men boldly mounted the breach; but after a very obstinate and bloody dispute, were beaten out again by the besieged with great loss.

Being thus often repulsed, and the Earl of Essex's army approaching, the king calls a council of war, and proposed to fight Essex's army. The officers of the horse were for fighting; and, without doubt, we were superior to him both in number and goodness of our horse, but the foot were not in an equal condition; and the colonels of foot representing to the king the weakness of their regiments, and how their men had been baulked and disheartened at this unfortunate siege, the graver counsel prevailed, and it was resolved to raise the siege, and retreat towards Bristol, till the army was recruited. Pursuant to this resolution, the 5th of September, the king, having before sent away his heavy cannon and baggage, raised the siege, and marched to Berkley Castle. The Earl of Essex came the next day to Birdlip hills; and understanding, by messengers from Colonel Massey, that the siege was raised, sends a recruit of two thousand five hundred men into the city, and followed us himself with a great body of horse.

This body of horse showed themselves to us once in a large field fit to have entertained them in; and our scouts having assured us they were not above four thousand, and had no foot with them, the king ordered a detachment of about the same number to face them. I desired his majesty to let us have two regiments of dragoons with us, which was then eight hundred men in a regiment, lest there might be some dragoons among the enemy, which the king granted, and accordingly we marched, and drew up in view of them. They stood their ground, having, as they supposed, some advantage of the manner they were posted

in, and expected we would charge them. The king, who did us the honour to command this party, finding they would not stir, calls me to him, and ordered me, with the dragoons and my own regiment, to take a circuit round by a village to a certain lane, where, in their retreat they must have passed, and which opened to a small common on the flank, with orders, if they engaged, to advance and charge them in the flank. I marched immediately; but though the country about there was almost all enclosures, yet their scouts were so vigilant that they discovered me, and gave notice to the body; upon which their whole party moved to the left, as if they intended to charge me, before the king with his body of horse could come; but the king was too vigilant to be circumvented so; and, therefore, his majesty, perceiving this, sends away three regiments of horse to second me, and a messenger before them, to order me to halt, and expect the enemy, for that he would follow with the whole body.

But before this order reached me, I had halted for some time; for, finding myself discovered, and not judging it safe to be entirely cut off from the main body, I stopt at the village, and, causing my dragoons to alight, and line a thick hedge on my left, I drew up my horse just at the entrance into the village, opening to a common; the enemy came up on the trot to charge me, but were saluted with a terrible fire from the dragoons out of the hedge, which killed them near a hundred men. This being a perfect surprise to them, they halted; and just at that moment they received orders from their main body to retreat; the king at the same time appearing upon some small heights in their rear, which obliged them to think of retreating, or coming to a general battle, which was none of their design.

I had no occasion to follow them, not being in a condition to attack their whole body; but the dragoons coming out into the common, gave them another volley at a distance,

which reached them effectually ; for it killed about twenty of them, and wounded more ; but they drew off, and never fired a shot at us, fearing to be enclosed between two parties, and so marched away to their general's quarters, leaving ten or twelve more of their fellows killed, and about a hundred and eighty horses. Our men, after the country fashion, gave them a shout at parting, to let them see we knew they were afraid of us.

However, this relieving of Gloucester raised the spirits as well as the reputation of the parliament forces, and was a great defeat to us ; and from this time things began to look with a melancholy aspect ; for the prosperous condition of the king's affairs began to decline. The opportunities he had let slip were never to be recovered ; and the parliament, in their former extremity, having voted an invitation to the Scots to march to their assistance, we had now new enemies to encounter ; and indeed there began the ruin of his majesty's affairs ; for the Earl of Newcastle, not able to defend himself against the Scots on his rear, the Earl of Manchester in his front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax on his flank, was everywhere routed and defeated, and his forces obliged to quit the field to the enemy.

About this time it was that we first began to hear of one Oliver Cromwell, who, like a little cloud, rose out of the east, and spread first into the north, till it shed down a flood that overwhelmed the three kingdoms.

He first was a private captain of horse, but now commanded a regiment, whom he armed cap-à-pie à la cuirassier ; and joining with the Earl of Manchester, the first action we heard of him that made him anything famous, was about Grantham, where, with only his own regiment, he defeated twenty-four troops of horse and dragoons of the king's forces : then at Gainsborough, with two regiments, his own of horse, and one of dragoons, where he defeated near three thousand of the Earl of Newcastle's men, killed

lieutenant-general Cavendish, brother to the Earl of Devonshire, who commanded them, and relieved Gainsborough; and though the whole army came in to the rescue, he made good his retreat to Lincoln with little loss; and the next week he defeated Sir John Henderson, at Winsby, near Horncastle, with sixteen regiments of horse and dragoons, himself having not half that number, killed the Lord Widdrington, Sir Ingram Hopton, and several gentlemen of quality.

Thus this firebrand of war began to blaze, and he soon grew a terror to the north; for victory attended him like a page of honour, and he was scarce ever known to be beaten during the whole war.

Now we began to reflect again on the misfortune of our master's counsels. Had we marched to London, instead of besieging Gloucester, we had finished the war with a stroke. The parliament's army was in a most despicable condition, and had never been recruited, had we not given them a month's time, which we lingered away at this fatal town of Gloucester. But it was too late to reflect; we were a disheartened army, but we were not beaten yet, nor broken; we had a large country to recruit in, and we lost no time, but raised men apace. In the mean time his majesty, after a short stay at Bristol, makes back again towards Oxford with a part of the foot, and all the horse.

At Cirencester we had a brush again with Essex. That town owed us a shrewd turn for having handled them coarsely enough before, when Prince Rupert seized the county magazine. I happened to be in the town that night with Sir Nicholas Crisp, whose regiment of horse quartered there, with Colonel Spencer, and some foot; my own regiment was gone before to Oxford. About ten at night, a party of Essex's men beat up our quarters by surprise, just as we had served them before; they fell in with us, just as people were going to bed, and having beaten the outguards,

were gotten into the middle of the town, before our men could get on horseback. Sir Nicholas Crisp, hearing the alarm, gets up, and with some of his clothes on, and some off, comes into my chamber. We are all undone, says he, the roundheads are upon us. We had but little time to consult; but being in one of the principal inns in the town, we presently ordered the gates of the inn to be shut, and sent to all the inns where our men were quartered to do the like, with orders, if they had any back-doors, or ways to get out, to come to us. By this means, however, we got so much time as to get on horseback, and so many of our men came to us by back-ways, that we had near three hundred horse in the yards and places behind the house; and now we began to think of breaking out by a lane which led from the back part of the inn; but a new accident determined us another, though a worse way. The enemy being entered, and our men cooped up in the yards of the inns, Colonel Spencer, the other colonel, whose regiment of horse lay also in the town, had got on horseback before us and engaged with the enemy, but being overpowered, retreated fighting, and sends to Sir Nicholas Crisp for help. Sir Nicholas, moved to see the distress of his friend, turning to me, says he, What can we do for him? I told him I thought it was time to help him if possible; upon which, opening the inn gates, we sallied out in very good order, about three hundred horse; and several of the troops from other parts of the town joining us, we recovered Colonel Spencer, and charging home, beat back the enemy to their main body. But finding their foot drawn up in the church-yard, and several detachments moving to charge us, we retreated in as good order as we could. They did not think fit to pursue us, but they took all the carriages which were under the convoy of this party, and laden with provisions and ammunition, and about five hundred of our horse. The foot shifted away as well as they could. Thus we made off in a

shattered condition towards Farringdon, and so to Oxford, and I was very glad my regiment was not there.

We had small rest at Oxford, or indeed anywhere else; for the king was marched from thence, and we followed him. I was something uneasy at my absence from my regiment, and did not know how the king might resent it, which caused me to ride after them with all expedition. But the armies were engaged that very day at Newbury, and I came in too late. I had not behaved myself so as to be suspected of a wilful shunning the action; but a colonel of a regiment ought to avoid absence from his regiment in time of fight, be the excuse never so just, as carefully as he would a surprise in his quarters. The truth is, it was an error of my own, and owing to two days' stay I made at the Bath, where I met with some ladies who were my relations; and this is far from being an excuse; for if the king had been a Gustavus Adolphus, I had certainly received a check for it.

This fight was very obstinate, and could our horse have come to action as freely as the foot, the parliament army had suffered much more; for we had here a much better body of horse than they, and we never failed beating them where the weight of the work lay upon the horse.

Here the city trained-bands, of which there were two regiments, and whom we used to despise, fought very well. They lost one of their colonels, and several officers in the action; and I heard our men say, they behaved themselves as well as any forces the parliament had.

The parliament cried victory here too, as they always did; and, indeed, where the foot were concerned they had some advantage; but our horse defeated them evidently. The king drew up his army in battalia, in person, and faced them all the next day, inviting them to renew the fight, but they had no stomach to come on again.

. It was a kind of a hedge-fight, for neither army was

drawn out in the field ; if it had, it would never have held from six in the morning till ten at night. But they fought for advantages ; sometimes one side had the better, sometimes another. They fought twice through the town, in at one end, and out at the other, and in the hedges and lanes with exceeding fury. The king lost the most men, his foot having suffered for want of the succour of their horse, who on two several occasions could not come at them. But the parliament foot suffered also, and two regiments were entirely cut in pieces, and the king kept the field.

Essex, the parliament general, had the pillage of the dead, and left us to bury them ; for while we stood all day to our arms, having given them a fair field to fight us in, their camp rabble stript the dead bodies, and they, not daring to venture a second engagement with us, marched away towards London.

The king lost in this action the Earls of Carnarvon and ~~S~~utherland, the Lord Falkland, a French marquis, and some very gallant officers, and about twelve hundred men. The Earl of Carnarvon was brought into an inn in Newbury, where the king came to see him. He had just life enough to speak to his majesty, and died in his presence. The king was exceedingly concerned for him, and was observed to shed tears at the sight of it. We were indeed all of us troubled for the loss of so brave a gentleman, but the concern our royal master discovered moved us more than ordinary. Everybody endeavoured to have the king out of the room, but he would not stir from the bedside till he saw all hopes of life were gone.

The indefatigable industry of the king, his servants and friends, continually to supply and recruit his forces, and to harass and fatigue the enemy, was such, that we should still have given a good account of the war, had the Scots stood neuter. But, bad news came every day out of the north ; as for other places, parties were always in action ; Sir Wil-

liam Waller and Sir Ralph Hopton beat one another by turns ; and Sir Ralph had extended the king's quarters from Launceston in Cornwall, to Farnham in Surrey, where he gave Sir William Waller a rub, and drove him into the castle. .

But in the north the storm grew thick, the Scots advanced to the borders, and entered England, in confederacy with the parliament, against their king ; for which the parliament requited them afterwards as they deserved.

Had it not been for the Scotch army, the parliament had easily been reduced to terms of peace ; but after this they never made any proposals fit for the king to receive. Want of success before had made them differ among themselves : Essex and Waller could never agree ; the Earl of Manchester and the Lord Willoughby differed to the highest degree ; and the king's affairs went never the worse for it. But this storm in the north ruined us all ; for the Scots prevailed in Yorkshire, and being joined with Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell, carried all before them ; so that the king was obliged to send Prince Rupert, with a body of four thousand horse, to the assistance of the Earl of Newcastle, where that prince finished the destruction of the king's interest, by the rashest and unaccountablest action in the world, of which I shall speak in its place.

Another action of the king's, though in itself no greater a cause of offence than the calling the Scots into the nation, gave great offence in general, and even the king's own friends disliked it ; and was carefully improved by his enemies to the disadvantage of the king, and of his cause. .

The rebels in Ireland had, ever since the bloody massacre of the protestants, maintained a war against the English, and the Earl of Ormond was general and governor for the king. The king, finding his affairs pinch him at home, sends orders to the Earl of Ormond to consent to a cessation of arms with the rebels, and to ship over certain of his regi-

ments hither to his majesty's assistance. It is true, the Irish had deserved to be very ill-treated by the English; but while the parliament pressed the king with a cruel and unnatural war at home, and called in an army out of Scotland to support their quarrel with their king, I could never be convinced that it was such a dishonourable action for the king to suspend the correction of his Irish rebels, till he was in a capacity to do it with safety to himself, or to delay any farther assistance to preserve himself at home; and the troops he recalled being his own, it was no breach of his honour to make use of them, since he now wanted them for his own security, against those who fought against him at home.

But the king was persuaded to make one step farther, and that, I confess, was displeasing to us all; and some of his best and most faithful servants took the freedom to speak plainly to him of it; and that was, bringing some regiments of the Irish themselves over. This cast, as we thought, an odium upon our whole nation, being some of those very wretches who had dipt their hands in the innocent blood of the protestants, and, with unheard-of butcheries, had massacred so many thousands of English in cold blood.

Abundance of gentlemen forsook the king upon this score; and seeing they could not brook the fighting in conjunction with this wicked generation, came into the declaration of the parliament, and making composition for their estates, lived retired lives all the rest of the war, or went abroad.

But as exigencies and necessities oblige us to do things which at other times we would not do, and is, as to man, some excuse for such things, so I cannot but think the guilt and dishonour of such an action must lie, very much of it at least, at their doors who drove the king to these necessities and distresses, by calling in an army of his own

subjects, whom he had not injured, but had complied with them in everything, to make war upon him without any provocation.

As to the quarrel between the king and his parliament, there may something be said on both sides; and the king saw cause himself to disown and dislike some things he had done, which the parliament objected against, such as levying money without consent of parliament, infractions on their privileges, and the like. Here, I say, was some room for an argument, at least; and concessions on both sides were needful to come to a peace; but for the Scots, all their demands had been answered, all their grievances had been redressed, they had made articles with their sovereign, and he had performed those articles; their capital enemy, episcopacy, was abolished; they had not one thing to demand of the king which he had not granted; and, therefore, they had no more cause to take up arms against their sovereign, than they had against the grand signior. But it must for ever lie against them as a brand of infamy, and as a reproach on their whole nation, that, purchased by the parliament's money, they sold their honesty, and rebelled against their king for hire; and it was not many years before, as I have said already, they were fully paid the wages of their unrighteousness, and chastised for their treachery, by the very same people whom they thus basely assisted; then they would have retrieved it, if it had not been too late.

But I could not but accuse this age of injustice and partiality, who, while they reproached the king for his cessation of arms with the Irish rebels, and not prosecuting them with the utmost severity, though he was constrained by the necessities of the war to do it, could yet, at the same time, justify the Scots taking up arms in a quarrel they had no concern in, and against their own king, with whom they had articed and capitulated, and who had so pun-

tually complied with all their demands, that they had no claim upon him, no grievances to be redressed, no oppression to cry out of, nor could ask anything of him which he had not granted.

But as no action in the world is so vile, but the actors can cover it with some specious pretence, so the Scots, now passing into England, publish a declaration to justify their assisting the parliament; to which I shall only say, in my opinion, it was no justification at all: for, admit the parliament's quarrel had been never so just, it could not be just in them to aid them, because it was against their own king too, to whom they had sworn allegiance, or at least had crowned him, and thereby had recognised his authority. For if mal-administration be, according to Prynne's doctrine, or according to their own Buchanan, a sufficient reason for subjects to take up arms against their prince, the breach of his coronation oath being supposed to dissolve the oath of allegiance, which, however, I cannot believe, yet this can never be extended to make it lawful, that because a King of England may, by mal-administration, discharge the subjects of England from their allegiance, that therefore the subjects of Scotland may take up arms against the King of Scotland, he having not infringed the compact of government as to them, and they having nothing to complain of for themselves: thus I thought their own arguments were against them, and heaven seemed to concur with it; for although they did carry the cause for the English rebels, yet the most of them left their bones here in the quarrel.

But what signifies reason to the drum and the trumpet. The parliament had the supreme argument with those men, viz., the money; and having accordingly advanced a good round sum, upon payment of this (for the Scots would not stir a foot without it), they entered England on the 15th of January, 1643, with an army of twelve

thousand men, under the command of old Lesley, now Earl of Leven, an old soldier of great experience, having been bred to arms from a youth, in the service of the Prince of Orange.

The Scots were no sooner entered England but they were joined by all the friends to the parliament party in the north; and first, Colonel Grey, brother to the Lord Grey, joined them with a regiment of horse, and several out of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and so they advanced to Newcastle, which they summoned to surrender. The Earl of Newcastle, who rather saw than was able to prevent this storm, was in Newcastle, and did his best to defend it; but the Scots, increased by this time to above twenty thousand, lay close siege to the place, which was but meanly fortified; and having repulsed the garrison upon several sallies, and pressing the place very close, after a siege of twelve days, or thereabouts, they enter the town, sword in hand. The Earl of Newcastle got away, and afterwards gathered what forces together he could; but not strong enough to hinder the Scots from advancing to Durham, which he quitted to them, nor to hinder the conjunction of the Scots with the forces of Fairfax, Manchester, and Cromwell. Whereupon the Earl, seeing all things thus going to wreck, he sends his horse away and retreats with his foot into York, making all necessary preparations for a vigorous defence there, in case he should be attacked, which he was pretty sure of, as indeed afterwards happened. York was in a very good posture of defence; the fortifications very regular, and exceeding strong; well furnished with provisions; and had now a garrison of twelve thousand men in it. The governor, under the Earl of Newcastle, was Sir Thomas Glenham, a good soldier, and a gentleman brave enough.

The Scots, as I have said, having taken Durham, Tyncmouth Castle, and Sunderland, and being joined by Sir

Thomas Fairfax, who had taken Selby, resolve, with their united strength, to besiege York; but when they came to view the city, and saw a plan of the works, and had intelligence of the strength of the garrison, they sent expresses to Manchester and Cromwell for help, who came on, and joined them with nine thousand, making together about thirty thousand men, rather more than less.

Now had the Earl of Newcastle's repeated messengers convinced the king that it was absolutely necessary to send some forces to his assistance, or else all would be lost in the north. Whereupon Prince Rupert was detached with orders first to go into Lancashire and relieve Latham House, defended by the brave Countess of Derby; and then, taking all the forces he could collect in Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire, to march to relieve York.

The prince marched from Oxford with but three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, making in all about two thousand eight hundred men. The colonels of horse were Colonel Charles Goring, the Lord Biron, and myself; the dragoons were of Colonel Smith. In our march, we were joined by a regiment of horse from Banbury, one of dragoons from Bristol, and three regiments of horse from Chester: so that when we came into Lancashire we were about five thousand horse and dragoons. These horse we received from Chester were those who having been at the siege of Nantwich were obliged to raise the siege by Sir Thomas Fairfax; and the foot having yielded, the horse made good their retreat to Chester, being about two thousand; of whom three regiments now joined us.

We received also two thousand foot from West Chester, and two thousand more out of Wales; and with this strength we entered Lancashire. We had not much time to spend, and a great deal of work to do.

Bolton and Liverpool felt the first fury of our prince.

At Bolton, indeed, he had some provocation; for here we were like to be beaten off. When first the prince came to the town, he sent a summons to demand the town for the king, but received no answer but from their guns, commanding the messenger to keep off at his peril." They had raised some works about the town; and having by their intelligence learned that we had no artillery, and were only a flying party, so they called us, they contemned the summons, and showed themselves upon their ramparts ready for us. The prince was resolved to humble them, if possible, and takes up his quarters close to the town. In the evening, he orders me to advance with one regiment of dragoons, and my horse, to bring them off, if occasion was, and to post myself as near as possibly I could to the lines, yet so as not to be discovered; and at the same time having concluded what part of the works to fall upon, he draws up his men on two other sides, as if he would storm them there; and on a signal, I was to begin the real assault on my side, with my dragoons. I had got so near the town with my dragoons, making them creep upon their bellies a great way, that we could hear the soldiers talk on the walls, when the prince, believing one regiment would be too few, sends me word, that he had ordered a regiment of foot to help, and that I should not discover myself till they were come up to me. This broke our measures; for the march of this regiment was discovered by the enemy, and they took the alarm. Upon this I sent to the prince, to desire he would put off the storm for that night, and I would answer for it the next day; but the prince was impatient, and sent orders we should fall on as soon as the foot came up to us. The foot marched out of the way, missed us, and fell in with the road that leads to another part of the town; and being not able to find us, made an attack upon the town themselves; but the defendants being ready for them, received them very

warmly, and beat them off with great loss. I was at a loss now what to do; for hearing the guns, and by the noise knowing it was an assault upon the town, I was very uneasy to have my share in it; but as I had learnt under the King of Sweden punctually to adhere to the execution of orders, and my orders being to lie still till the foot came up with me, I would not stir if I had been sure to have done never so much service; but, however, to satisfy myself, I went to the prince to let him know that I continued in the same place, expecting the foot, and none being yet come, I desired farther orders. The prince was a little amazed at this; and finding there must be some mistake, came galloping away in the dark to the place, and drew off the men; which was no hard matter, for they were willing enough to give it over.

As for me, the prince ordered me to come off so privately, as not to be discovered if possible, which I effectually did: and so we were baulked for that night. The next day the prince fell on upon another quarter with three regiments of foot, but was beaten off with loss; and the like a third time. At last, the prince resolved to carry it, doubled his numbers, and renewing the attack with fresh men, the foot entered the town over their works, killing, in the first heat of the action, all that came in their way; some of the foot at the same time letting in the horse; and so the town was entirely won. There was about six hundred of the enemy killed, and we lost above four hundred in all, which was owing to the foolish mistakes we made. Our men got some plunder here, which the parliament made a great noise about; but it was their due, and they bought it dear enough.

Liverpool did not cost us so much, nor did we get so much by it, the people having sent their women and children, and best goods, on board the ships in the road; and as we had no boats to board them with, we could not get at

them. Here, as at Bolton, the town and fort was taken by storm, and the garrison were many of them cut in pieces, which, by the way, was their own faults.

Our next step was Latham House, which the Countess of Derby had gallantly defended above eighteen weeks, against the parliament forces; and this lady not only encouraged her men by her cheerful and noble maintenance of them, but, by examples of her own undaunted spirit, exposing herself upon the walls in the midst of the enemy's shot, would be with her men in the greatest dangers; and she well deserved our care of her person; for the enemy were prepared to use her very rudely if she fell into their hands.

Upon our approach, the enemy drew off; and the prince not only effectually relieved this vigorous lady, but left her a good quantity of all sorts of ammunition, three great guns, five hundred arms, and two hundred men, commanded by a major, as her extraordinary guard.

Here the way being now opened, and our success answering our expectation, several bodies of foot came in to us from Westmoreland, and from Cumberland; and here it was that the prince found means to surprise the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which was recovered for the king, by the management of the mayor of the town, and some loyal gentlemen of the country, and a garrison placed there again for the king.

But our main design being the relief of York, the prince advanced that way apace, his army still increasing; and being joined by the Lord Goring, from Richmondshire, with four thousand horse, which were the same the Earl of Newcastle had sent away when he threw himself into York with the infantry. We were now eighteen thousand effective men, whereof ten thousand horse and dragons; so the prince, full of hopes, and his men in good heart, boldly marched directly for York.

The Scots, as much surprised at the taking of Newcastle,

as at the coming of their enemy, began to inquire which way they should get home if they should be beaten; and calling a council of war, they all agreed to raise the siege. The prince, who drew with him a great train of carriages charged with provision and ammunition, for the relief of the city, like a wary general, kept at a distance from the enemy, and fetching a great compass about, brings all safe into the city, and enters into York himself with all his army.

No action of this whole war had gained the prince so much honour, or the king's affairs so much advantage as this, had the prince but had the power to have restrained his courage after this, and checked his fatal eagerness for fighting. Here was a siege raised, the reputation of the enemy justly stirred, a city relieved and furnished with all things necessary, in the face of an army, superior in number by near ten thousand men, and commanded by a triumvirate of Generals Leven, Fairfax, and Manchester. Had the prince but remembered the proceeding of the great Duke of Parma at the relief of Paris, he would have seen the relieving the city was his business; it was the enemy's business to fight, if possible; it was his to avoid it; for having delivered the city, and put the disgrace of raising the siege upon the enemy, he had nothing farther to do, but to have waited till he had seen what course the enemy would take, and taken his farther measures from their motion.

But the prince, a continual friend to precipitant counsels, would hear no advice; I entreated him not to put it to the hazard; I told him that he ought to consider, if he lost the day, he lost the kingdom, and took the crown off from the king's head. I put him in mind that it was impossible those three generals should continue long together; and that, if they did, they would not agree long in their counsels; which would be as well for us as their separating. It was plain Manchester and Cromwell must return to the associated counties, who would not suffer them to stay, for fear

the king should attempt them ; that he could subsist well enough, having York city and river at his back ; but the Scots would eat up the country, make themselves odious, and dwindle away to nothing, if he would but hold them at bay a little ; other general officers were of the same mind ; but all I could say, or they either, to a man, deaf to anything but his own courage, signified nothing. He would draw out and fight, there was no persuading him to the contrary, unless a man would run the risk of being upbraided with being a coward, and afraid of the work. The enemy's army lay on a large common, called Marston-moor, doubtful what to do. Some were for fighting the prince, the Scots were against it, being uneasy at having the garrison of Newcastle at their backs ; but the prince brought their councils of war to a result ; for he let them know they must fight him, whether they would or no ; for the prince being, as before, eighteen thousand men ; and the Earl of Newcastle having joined him with eight thousand foot out of the city, were marched in quest of the enemy ; had entered the moor in view of their army, and began to draw up in order of battle ; but the night coming on, the armies only viewed each other at a distance for that time. We lay all night upon our arms, and with the first of the day were in order of battle ; the enemy was getting ready, but part of Manchester's men were not in the field, but lay about three miles off, and made a hasty march to come up.

The prince's army was exceedingly well managed ; he himself commanded the left wing, the Earl of Newcastle the right wing ; and the Lord Goring, as general of the foot, assisted by Major-General Porter and Sir Charles Lucas, led the main battle. I had prevailed with the prince, according to the method of the King of Sweden, to place some small bodies of musketeers in the intervals of his horse, in the left wing, but could not prevail upon the Earl of Newcastle to do it in the right ; which he afterwards repented. In this

MEMOIRS OF A CAVALIER.

posture we stood facing the enemy, expecting they would advance to us, which at last they did; and the prince began the day by saluting them with his artillery, which, being placed very well, galled them terribly for a quarter of an hour; they could not shift their front, so they advanced the hastier to get within our great guns, and consequently out of their danger, which brought the fight sooner on.

The enemy's army was thus ordered; Sir Thomas Fairfax had the right wing, in which was the Scots' horse, and the horse of his own and his father's army; Cromwell led the left wing, with his own and the Earl of Manchester's horse; and the three generals, Lesley, old Fairfax, and Manchester, led the main battle.

The prince, with our left wing, fell on first, and, with his usual fury, broke, like a clap of thunder, into the right wing of the Scots' horse, led by Sir Thomas Fairfax, and as nothing could stand in his way, he broke through and through them, and entirely routed them, pursuing them quite out of the field. Sir Thomas Fairfax, with a regiment of lances, and about five hundred of his own horse, made good the ground for some time; but our musketeers, which, as I said, were placed among our horse, were such an unlooked-for sort of an article, in a fight among the horse, that those lances, which otherwise were brave fellows, were mowed down with their shot, and all was put into confusion. Sir Thomas Fairfax was wounded in the face, his brother killed, and a great slaughter was made of the Scots, to whom, I confess, we showed no favour at all.

While this was doing on our left, the Lord Goring, with the main battle, charged the enemy's foot; and particularly one brigade, commanded by Major-General Porter, being mostly pikemen, not regarding the fire of the enemy, charged with that fury in a close body of pikes, that they overturned all that came in their way, and breaking into the middle of the enemy's foot, filled all with terror and confusion, inso-

much that the three generals thinking all had been lost, fled, and quitted the field.

But matters went not so well with that always unfortunate gentleman, the Earl of Newcastle, and our right wing of horse; for Cromwell charged the Earl of Newcastle with a powerful body of horse; and though the earl, and those about him, did what men could do, and behaved themselves with all possible gallantry, yet there was no withstanding Cromwell's horse; but, like Prince Rupert, they bore down all before them; and now the victory was wrung out of our hands by our own gross miscarriage; for the prince, as it was his custom, too eager in the chase of the enemy, was gone and could not be heard of; the foot in the centre, the right wing of the horse being routed by Cromwell, was left, and without the guard of his horse. Cromwell having routed the Earl of Newcastle, and beaten him quite out of the field, and Sir Thomas Fairfax rallying his dispersed troops, they fall all together upon the foot. General Lord Goring, like himself, fought like a lion; but forsaken of his horse, was hemmed in on all sides and overthrown; and an hour after this, the prince, returning too late to recover his friends, was obliged with the rest to quit the field to conquerors.

This was a fatal day to the king's affairs, and the risk too much for any man in his wits to run; we lost four thousand men on the spot, three thousand prisoners, among whom was Sir Charles Lucas, Major-General Porter, Major-General Telier, and about one hundred and seventy gentlemen of quality. We lost all our baggage, twenty-five pieces of cannon, three hundred carriages, one hundred and fifty barrels of powder, and ten thousand arms.

The prince got into York with the Earl of Newcastle, and a great many gentlemen, and seven or eight thousand of the men, as well horse as foot.

I had but very coarse treatment in this flight; for return-

ing with the prince from the pursuit of the right wing, and finding all lost, I halted, with some other officers, to consider what to do; at first we were for making our retreat in a body, and might have done so well enough, if we had known what had happened before we saw ourselves in the middle of the enemy; for Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had got together his scattered troops, and joined by some of the left wing, knowing who we were, charged us with great fury. It was not a time to think of anything but getting away, or dying upon the spot; the prince kept on in the front, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, by this charge, cut off about three regiments of us from our body, but bending his main strength at the prince, left us, as it were, behind him, in the middle of the field of battle. We took this for the only opportunity we could have to get off, and joining together, we made across the place of battle in as good order as we could, with our carabines presented. In this posture we passed by several bodies of the enemy's foot, who stood with their pikes charged to keep us off; but they had no occasion, for we had no design to meddle with them, but to get from them. Thus we made a swift march, and thought ourselves pretty secure; but our work was not done yet, for, on a sudden, we saw ourselves under a necessity of fighting our way through a great body of Manchester's horse, who came galloping upon us over the moor. They had, as we suppose, been pursuing some of our broken troops which were fled before, and seeing us, they gave us a home charge. We received them as well as we could, but pushed to get through them, which at last we did with a considerable loss to them. However, we lost so many men, either killed or separated from us (for all could not follow the same way), that of our three regiments we could not be above four hundred horse together when we got quite clear, and these were mixt men, some of one troop and regiment, some of another. Not that I believe many of us were killed in the last at-

tack, for we had plainly the better of the enemy; but our design being to get off, some shifted for themselves one way, and some another, in the best manner they could, and as their several fortunes guided them. Four hundred more of this body, as I afterwards understood, having broke through the enemy's body another way, kept together, and got into Pontefract Castle, and three hundred more made northward, and to Skipton, where the prince afterwards fetched them off.

These few of us that were left together, with whom I was, being now pretty clear of pursuit, halted, and began to inquire who and what we were, and what we should do; and on a short debate, I proposed we should make to the first garrison of the king's that we could recover, and that we should keep together, lest the country-people should insult us upon the roads. With this resolution we pushed on westward for Lancashire; but our misfortunes were not yet at an end: we travelled very hard, and got to a village upon the river Wharfe, near Wetherby. At Wetherby there was a bridge, but we understood that a party from Leeds had secured the town and the post, in order to stop the flying cavaliers, and that it would be very hard to get through there, though, as we understood afterwards, there were no soldiers there but a guard of the townsmen. In this pickle we consulted what course to take; to stay where we were till morning, we all concluded would not be safe; some advised to take the stream with our horses, but the river, which is deep, and the current strong, seemed to bid us have a care what we did of that kind, especially in the night. We resolved, therefore, to refresh ourselves and our horses, which indeed is more than we did, and go on till we might come to a ford or bridge, where we might get over. Some guides we had, but they either were foolish or false, for after we had rid eight or nine miles, they plunged us into a river at a place they called a ford, but it was a very ill one,

for most of our horses swam, and seven or eight were lost, but we saved the men; however, we got all over.

We made hold with our first convenience to trespass upon the country for a few horses, where we could find them, to remount our men whose horses were drowned, and continued our march; but being obliged to refresh ourselves at a small village on the edge of Bramham Moor, we found the country alarmed by our taking some horses, and we were no sooner got on horseback in the morning, and entering on the moor, but we understood we were pursued by some troops of horse. There was no remedy but we must pass this moor; and though our horses were exceedingly tired, yet we pressed on upon a round trot, and recovered an enclosed country on the other side, where we halted. And here, necessity putting us upon it, we were obliged to look out for more horses, for several of our men were dismounted, and others' horses disabled by carrying double, those who lost their horses getting up behind them; but we were supplied by our enemies against their will.

The enemy followed us over the moor, and we having a woody enclosed country about us, where we were, I observed by their moving, they had lost sight of us; upon which I proposed concealing ourselves till we might judge of their numbers. We did so, and lying close in a wood, they past hastily by us, without skirting or searching the wood, which was what on another occasion they would not have done. I found they were not above a hundred and fifty horse, and considering that to let them go before us would be to alarm the country, and stop our design, I thought, since we might be able to deal with them, we should not meet with a better place for it, and told the rest of our officers my mind, which all our party presently (for we had not time for a long debate) agreed to. Immediately upon this I caused two men to fire their pistols in the wood, at two different places, as far asunder as I

could. This I did to give them an alarm, and amuse them; for being in the lane, they would otherwise have got through before we had been ready, and I resolved to engage them there, as soon as it was possible. After this alarm, we rushed out of the wood, with about a hundred horse, and charged them on the flank in a broad lane, the wood being on their right. Our 'passage into the lane being narrow, gave us some difficulty in our getting out; but the surprise of the charge did our work; for the enemy, thinking we had been a mile or two before, had not the least thoughts of this onset, till they heard us in the wood, and then they who were before could not come back. We broke into the lane just in the middle of them, and by that means divided them; and facing to the left, charged the rear. First our dismounted men, which were near fifty, lined the edge of the wood, and fired with their carabines upon those which were before, so warmly, that they put them into a great disorder. Meanwhile, fifty more of our horse from the farther part of the wood showed themselves in the lane upon their front; this put them of the foremost party into a great perplexity, and they began to face about, to fall upon us who were engaged in the rear; but their facing about in a lane where there was no room to wheel, as one who understands the manner of wheeling a troop of horse must imagine, put them into a great disorder. Our party in the head of the lane taking the advantage of this mistake of the enemy, charged in upon them, and routed them entirely. Some found means to break into the enclosures on the other side of the lane, and get away. About thirty were killed; and about twenty-five made prisoners, and forty very good horses were taken; all this while not a man of ours was lost, and not above seven or eight wounded. Those in the rear behaved themselves better; for they stood our charge with a great deal of resolution, and all we could do could not break them; but at last our men, who had

fired on foot through the hedges at the other party, coming to do the like here, there was no standing it any longer. The rear of them faced about, and retreated out of the lane, and drew up in the open field to receive and rally their fellows. We killed about seventeen of them, and followed them to the end of the lane, but had no mind to have any more fighting than needs must; our condition at that time not making it proper, the towns round us being all in the enemy's hands, and the country but indifferently pleased with us; however, we stood facing them till they thought fit to march away. Thus we were supplied with horses enough to remount our men, and pursued our first design of getting into Lancashire. As for our prisoners, we let them off on foot.

But the country being by this time alarmed, and the rout of our army everywhere known, we foresaw abundance of difficulties before us; we were not strong enough to venture into any great towns, and we were too many to be concealed in small ones. Upon this we resolved to halt in a great wood, about three miles beyond the place where we had the last skirmish, and sent out scouts to discover the country, and learn what they could, either of the enemy or of our friends.

Anybody may suppose we had but indifferent quarters here, either for ourselves or for our horses; but, however, we made shift to lie here two days and one night. In the interim I took upon me, with two more, to go to Leeds to learn some news; we were disguised like country ploughmen; the clothes we got at a farmer's house, which for that particular occasion we plundered; and I cannot say no blood was shed in a manner too rash, and which I could not have done at another time; but our case was desperate, and the people too surly, and shot at us out of the window, wounded one man, and shot a horse, which we counted as great a loss to us as a man, for our safety depended upon

our horses. Here we got clothes of all sorts, enough for both sexes, and thus dressing myself up *à la paysan*, with a white cap on my head and a fork on my shoulder, and one of my comrades in the farmer's wife's russet gown and petticoat, like a woman; the other with an old crutch like a lame man, and all mounted on such horses as we had taken the day before from the country; away we go to Leeds by three several ways, and agreed to meet upon the bridge. My pretended countrywoman acted her part to the life, though the party was a gentleman of good quality of the Earl of Worcester's family; and the cripple did as well as he; but I thought myself very awkward in my dress, which made me very shy, especially among the soldiers. We passed their sentinels and guards at Leeds unobserved, and put up our horses at several houses in the town, from whence we went up and down to make our remarks. My cripple was the fittest to go among the soldiers, because there was less danger of being pressed. There he informed himself of the matters of war, particularly that the enemy sat down again to the siege of York; that flying parties were in pursuit of the cavaliers; and there he heard that five hundred horse of the Lord Manchester's men had followed a party of cavaliers over Bramham Moor; and, that entering a lane, the cavaliers, who were a thousand strong, fell upon them, and killed them all but about fifty. This, though it was a lie, was very pleasant to us to hear, knowing it was our party, because of the other part of the story, which was thus; that the cavaliers had taken possession of such a wood, where they rallied all the troops of their flying army; that they had plundered the country as they came, taking all the good horses they could get; that they had plundered Goodman Thompson's house, which was the farmer I mentioned, and killed man, woman, and child; and that they were about two thousand strong.

My other friend in woman's clothes got among the good

wives at an inn, where she set up her horse, and there she heard the same sad and dreadful tidings; and that this party was so strong, none of the neighbouring garrisons durst stir out; but that they had sent expresses to York for a party of horse to come to their assistance.

I walked up and down the town, but fancied myself so ill-disguised, and so easy to be known, that I cared not to talk with anybody. We met at the bridge exactly at our time, and compared our intelligence, found it answered our end of coming, and that we had nothing to do but to get back to our men; but my cripple told me he would not stir till he bought some victuals, so away he hops with his crutch, and buys four or five great pieces of bacon, as many of hung beef, and two or three loaves; and, borrowing a sack at the inn (which I suppose he never restored), he loads his horse, and getting a large leather bottle, he filled that of aqua vitæ instead of small beer; my woman comrade did the like. I was uneasy in my mind, and took no care but to get out of the town; however, we all came off well enough; but it was well for me that I had no provisions with me, as you will hear presently. We came, as I said, into the town by several ways, and so we went out; but about three miles from the town we met again exactly where we had agreed. I being about a quarter of a mile from the rest, I met three country fellows on horseback; one had a long pole on his shoulder, another a fork, the third no weapon at all, that I saw; I gave them the road very orderly, being habited like one of their brethren; but one of them stopping short at me, and looking earnestly, calls out, Hark thee, friend, says he, in a broad north-country tone, whar hast thou thilk horse? I must confess I was in the utmost confusion at the question, neither being able to answer the question, nor to speak in his tone; so I made as if I did not hear him, and went on. Na, but ye's not gang soa, says the boor, and comes up to me, and takes hold of

the horse's bridle to stop me ; at which, vexed at heart that I could not tell how to talk to him, I reached him a great knock on the pate with my fork, and fetched him off his horse, and then began to mend my pace. The other clowns, though it seems they knew not what the fellow wanted, pursued me, and, finding they had better heels than I, I saw there was no remedy but to make use of my hands, and faced about. The first that came up with me was he that had no weapons, so I thought I might parley with him ; and, speaking as country-like as I could, I asked him what he wanted ? Thou'st know that soon, says Yorkshire, and I'se but come at thee. Then keep awa', man, said I, or I'se brain thee. By this time the third man came up, and the parley ended ; for he gave me no words, but laid at me with his long pole, and that with such fury, that I began to be doubtful of him. I was loath to shoot the fellow, though I had pistols under my grey frock, as well for that the noise of a pistol might bring more people in, the village being in our rear, and also because I could not imagine what the fellow meant, or would have ; but at last, finding he would be too many for me with that long weapon, and a hardy strong fellow, I threw myself off my horse, and, running in with him, stabbed my fork into his horse ; the horse, being wounded, staggered awhile, and then fell down, and the booby had not the sense to get down in time, but fell with him ; upon which, giving him a knock or two with my fork, I secured him. The other, by this time, had furnished himself with a great stick out of a hedge, and, before I was disengaged from the last fellow, gave me two such blows, that if the last had not missed my head, and hit me on the shoulder, I had ended the fight and my life together. It was time to look about me now, for this was a madman ; I defended myself with my fork, but it would not do ; at last, in short, I was forced to pistol him, and get on horse-back again, and, with all the speed I could make, get away to the wood to our men.

If my two fellow spies had not been behind, I had never known what was the meaning of this quarrel of the three countrymen, but my cripple had all the particulars; for he, being behind us, as I have already observed, when he came up to the first fellow, who began the fray, he found him beginning to come to himself; so he gets off, and pretends to help him, and lifts him up, and, being a very merry fellow, talked to him, Well, and what's the matter now, says he to him; Ah, wac's me, says the fellow, I'se killed! Not quite, mon, says the cripple. Oh that's a fause thief, says he, and thus they parleyed. My cripple got him on his feet, and gave him a dram of his aqua vitæ bottle, and made much of him, in order to know what was the occasion of the quarrel. Our disguised woman pitied the fellow too, and together they set him up again upon his horse, and then he told them that that fellow was got upon one of his brother's horses who lived at Wetherby; they said the cavaliers stole him, but it was like such rogues (no mischief could be done in the country, but it was the poor cavaliers must bear the blame), and the like; and thus they jogged on till they came to the place where the other two lay. The first fellow they assisted as they had done the other, and gave him a dram out of the leather bottle; but the last fellow was past their care; so they came away. For when they understood that it was my horse they claimed, they began to be afraid that their own horses might be known too, and then they had been betrayed in a worse pickle than I, and must have been forced to have done some mischief or other to have got away.

I had sent out two troopers to fetch them off, if there was any occasion; but their stay was not long, and the two troopers saw them at a distance coming towards us, so they returned.

I had enough of going for a spy, and my companions had

enough of staying in the wood; for other intelligences agreed with ours, and all concurred in this, that it was time to be going: however, this use we made of it, that while the country thought us so strong, we were in the less danger of being attacked, though in the more of being observed; but all this while we heard nothing of our friends, till the next day. We then heard Prince Rupert, with about a thousand horse, was at Skipton, and from thence marched away to Westmoreland.

We concluded now we had two or three days' time good; for, since messengers were sent to York for a party to suppress us, we must have at least two days' march of them, and therefore all concluded we were to make the best of our way. Early in the morning, therefore, we decamped from those dull quarters; and as we marched through a village, we found the people very civil to us, and the women cried out, God bless them, it is a pity the round-heads should make such work with such brave men, and the like. Finding we were among our friends, we resolved to halt a little and refresh ourselves; and, indeed, the people were very kind to us, gave us victuals and drink, and took care of our horses. It happened to be my lot to stop at a house where the good woman took a great deal of pains to provide for us; but I observed the good man walked about with a cap upon his head, and very much out of order. I took no great notice of it, being very sleepy, and having asked my landlady to let me have a bed, I lay down and slept heartily: when I waked, I found my landlord on another bed, groaning very heavily.

When I came downstairs, I found my cripple talking with my landlady; he was now out of his disguise, but we called him cripple still; and the other, who put on the woman's clothes, we called Goody Thompson. As soon as he saw me, he called me out; Do you know, says he, the man of the house you are quartered in? No, not I,

says I. No, so I believe, nor they you, says he ; if they did, the good wife would not have made you a posset, and fetched a white loaf for you. What do you mean ? says I. Have you seen the man ? says he. Seen him, says I, yes, and heard him too ; the man is sick, and groans so heavily, says I, that I could not lie upon the bed any longer for him. Why, this is the poor man, says he, that you knocked down with your fork yesterday, and I have had all the story out yonder at the next door. I confess it grieved me to have been forced to treat one so roughly who was one of our friends, but to make some amends, we contrived to give the poor man his brother's horse ; and my cripple told him a formal story, that he believed the horse was taken away from the fellow by some of our men ; and, if he knew him again, if it was his friend's horse, he should have him. The man came down upon the news, and I caused six or seven horses, which were taken at the same time, to be shown him ; he immediately chose the right ; so I gave him the horse, and we pretended a great deal of sorrow for the man's hurt, and that we had not knocked the fellow on the head as well as took away the horse. The man was so overjoyed at the revenge he thought was taken on the fellow, that we heard him groan no more. We ventured to stay all day at this town and the next night, and got guides to lead us to Blackstone Edge, a ridge of mountains which parts this side of Yorkshire from Lancashire. Early in the morning we marched, and kept our scouts very carefully out every way, who brought us no news for this day : we kept on all night, and made our horses do penance for that little rest they had, and the next morning we passed the hills, and got into Lancashire, to a town called Littleborough, and from thence to Rochdale, a little market-town. And now we thought ourselves safe as to the pursuit of enemies from the side of York ; our design was to get to Bolton, but all the country was full of the

enemy in flying parties, and how to get to Bolton we knew not. At last we resolved to send a messenger to Bolton; but he came back and told us, he had, with lurking and hiding, tried all the ways that he thought possible, but to no purpose; for he could not get into the town. We sent another, and he never returned; and some time after we understood he was taken by the enemy. At last one got into the town, but brought us word, they were tired out with constant alarms, had been straitly blocked up, and every day expected a siege, and therefore advised us either to go northward, where Prince Rupert and the Lord Goring ranged at liberty; or to get over Warrington bridge, and so secure our retreat to Chester. This double direction divided our opinions; I was for getting into Chester, both to recruit myself with horses and with money, both which I wanted, and to get refreshment, which we all wanted; but the major part of our men were for the north. First, they said, there was their general, and it was their duty to the cause, and the king's interest obliged us to go where we could do best service; and there were their friends, and every man might hear some news of his own regiment, for we belonged to several regiments; besides, all the towns to the left of us were possessed by Sir William Brereton; Warrington and Northwich garrisoned by the enemy, and a strong party at Manchester; so that it was very likely we should be beaten and dispersed before we could get to Chester. These reasons, and especially the last, determined us for the north, and we had resolved to march the next morning, when other intelligence brought us to more speedy resolutions. We kept our scouts continually abroad, to bring us intelligence of the enemy, whom we expected on our backs, and also to keep an eye upon the country; for, as we lived upon them something at large, they were ready enough to do us any ill turn, as it lay in their power.

The first messenger that came to us was from our friends

at Bolton, to inform us that they were preparing at Manchester to attack us. One of our parties had been as far as Stockport, on the edge of Cheshire, and was pursued by a party of the enemy, but got off by the help of the night. Thus all things looking black to the south, we had resolved to march northward in the morning, when one of our scouts from the side of Manchester assured us Sir Thomas Middleton, with some of the parliament forces, and the country troops, making above twelve hundred men, were on their march to attack us, and would certainly beat up our quarters that night. Upon this advice we resolved to be gone; and getting all things in readiness, we began to march about two hours before night; and having gotten a trusty fellow for a guide, a fellow that we found was a friend to our side, he put a project into my head, which saved us all for that time; and that was, to give out in the village that we were marched back to Yorkshire, resolving to get into Pontefract Castle; and accordingly he leads us out of the town the same way we came in; and taking a boy with him, he sends the boy back just at night, and bade him say he saw us go up the hills at Blackstone Edge; and it happened very well; for this party were so sure of us, that they had placed four hundred men on the road to the northward, to intercept our retreat that way, and had left no way for us, as they thought, to get away, but back again.

About ten o'clock at night they assaulted our quarters, but found we were gone; and being informed which way, they followed upon the spur, and travelling all night, being moonlight, they found themselves the next day about fifteen miles east, just out of their way; for we had, by the help of our guide, turned short at the foot of the hills, and through blind, untrodden paths, and with difficulty enough, by noon the next day, had reached almost twenty-five miles north, near a town called Clithero. Here we halted in the open

field, and sent out our people to see how things were in the country. This part of the country, almost unpassable, and walled round with hills, was indifferent quiet; and we got some refreshment for ourselves, but very little horse meat, and so went on; but we had not marched far before we found ourselves discovered; and the four hundred horse sent to lie in wait for us as before, having understood which way we went, followed us hard; and, by letters to some of their friends at Preston, we found we were beset again. Our guide began now to be out of his knowledge; and our scouts brought us word the enemy's horse was posted before us; and we knew they were in our rear. In this exigence, we resolved to divide our small body, and so amusing them, at least one might get off, if the other miscarried. I took about eighty horse with me, among which were all that I had of my own regiment, amounting to about thirty-two, and took the hills towards Yorkshire. Here we met with such unpassable hills, vast moors, rocks, and stony ways, as lamed all our horses, and tired our men; and sometimes I was ready to think we should never be able to get over them, till our horses failing, and jack-boots being but indifferent things to travel in, we might be starved before we should find any road or towns, for guide we had none, but a boy who knew but little, and would cry when we asked him any questions. I believe neither men nor horses ever passed in some places where we went, and for twenty hours we saw not a town nor a house, excepting sometimes from the top of the mountains, at a vast distance. I am persuaded we might have encamp'd here, if we had had provisions, till the war had been over, and have met with no disturbance; and I have often wondered since, how we got into such horrible places, as much as how we got out. That which was worse to us than all the rest was, that we knew not where we were going, nor what part of the country we should come into, when we came out of those

desolate crags. At last, after a terrible fatigue, we began to see the western parts of Yorkshire, some few villages, and the country at a distance looked a little like England; for I thought before it looked like old Brennus hill, which the Grisons call the grandfather of the Alps. We got some relief in the villages, which indeed some of us had so much need of, that they were hardly able to sit their horses, and others were forced to help them off, they were so faint. I never felt so much of the power of hunger in my life, for having not eaten in thirty hours, I was as ravenous as a hound; and if I had had a piece of horseflesh, I believe I should not have had patience to have stayed dressing it, but have fallen upon it raw, and have eaten it as greedily as a Tartar.

However, I eat very cautiously, having often seen the danger of men's eating heartily after long fasting. Our next care was to inquire our way. Halifax, they told us, was on our right; there we durst not think of going; Skipton was before us, and there we knew not how it was; for a body of three thousand horse, sent out by the enemy in pursuit of Prince Rupert, had been there but two days before, and the country people could not tell us whether they were gone or no; and Manchester's horse, which were sent out after our party, were then at Halifax, in quest of us, and afterwards marched into Cheshire. In this distress we would have hired a guide, but none of the country people would go with us; for the roundheads would hang them, they said, when they came there. Upon this I called a fellow to me, Hark ye, friend, says I, dost thee know the way so as to bring us into Westmoreland, and not keep the great road from York? Ay, marry, says he, I ken the ways weel enou. And you would go and guide us, said I, but that you are afraid the roundheads will hang you? Indeed would I, says the fellow. Why then, says I, thou hadst as good be hanged by a roundhead as a cavalier;

for, if thou wilt not go, I'll hang thee just now. Na, and ye serve me soa; says the fellow, I'se ene gang with ye; for I care not for hanging; and ye'll get me a good horse, I'se gang and be one of ye, for I'll nere come heame more." This pleased us still better, and we mounted the fellow, for three of our men died that night with the extreme fatigue of the last service.

Next morning, when our new trooper was mounted and clothed, we hardly knew him; and this fellow led us by such ways, such wildernesses, and yet with such prudence, keeping the hills to the left, that we might have the villages to refresh ourselves, that without him we had certainly either perished in those mountains, or fallen into the enemy's hands. We passed the great road from York so critically as to time, that from one of the hills he showed us a party of the enemy's horse, who were then marching into Westmoreland. We lay still that day, finding we were not discovered by them; and our guide proved the best scout that we could have had; for he would go out ten miles at a time, and bring us in all the news of the country. Here he brought us word that York was surrendered upon articles, and that Newcastle, which had been surprised by the king's party, was besieged by another army of Scots, advanced to help their brethren.

Along the edges of those vast mountains we past, with the help of our guide, till we came into the forest of Swale; and finding ourselves perfectly concealed here, for no soldier had ever been here all the war, nor perhaps would not, if it had lasted seven yeals, we thought we wanted a few days' rest, at least for our horses; so we resolved to halt, and while we did so, we made some disguises, and sent out some spies into the country; but as here were no great townes, nor no post road, we got very little intelligence. We rested four days, and then marched again; and, indeed, having no great stock of money about us, and not very free of that we had, four days was enough, for those poor places to be able to maintain us.

We thought ourselves pretty secure now; but our chief care was, how to get over those terrible mountains; for, having passed the great road that leads from York to Lancaster, the crags, the farther northward we looked, looked still the worse, and our business was all on the other side. Our guide told us he would bring us out if we would have patience, which we were obliged to, and kept on this slow march till he brought us to Stanhope, in the county of Durham, where some of Goring's horse, and two regiments of foot had their quarters. This was nineteen days from the battle of Marston Moor. The prince, who was then at Kendal, in Westmoreland, and who had given me over as lost, when he had news of our arrival, sent an express to me to meet him at Appleby. I went thither accordingly, and gave him an account of our journey, and there I heard the short history of the other part of our men, whom we parted from in Lancashire. They made the best of their way north. They had two resolute gentlemen who commanded; and being so closely pursued by the enemy, that they found themselves under the necessity of fighting, they halted, and faced about, expecting the charge. The boldness of the action made the officer who led the enemy's horse (which it seems were the county horse only) afraid of them; which they perceiving, taking the advantage of his fears, bravely advance, and charge them; and, though they were above two hundred horse, they routed them, killed about thirty or forty, got some horses, and some money, and pushed on their march night and day; but coming near Lancaster, they were so waylaid and pursued, that they agreed to separate, and shift every man for himself; many of them fell into the enemy's hands; some were killed attempting to pass through the river Lune; some went back again; six or seven got to Bolton, and about eighteen got safe to Prince Rupert.

The prince was in a better condition hereabouts than I expected; he and my Lord Goring, with the help of Sir

Marmaduke Langdale, and the gentlemen of Cumberland, had gotten a body of four thousand horse, and about six thousand foot; they had retaken Newcastle, Tynemouth, Durham, Stockton, and several towns of consequence from the Scots, and might have cut them out work enough still, if that base people, resolved to engage their whole interest to ruin their sovereign, had not sent a second army of ten thousand men under the Earl of Calendar, to help their first. These came and laid siege to Newcastle, but found more vigorous resistance now than they had done before.

There were in the town Sir John Morley, the Lord Crawford, Lord Rea and Maxwell, Scots, and old soldiers, who were resolved their countrymen should buy the town very dear, if they had it; and had it not been for our disaster at Marston Moor, they had never had it; for Calendar, finding he was not able to carry the town, sends to General Leven to come from the siege of York to help him.

Meantime the prince forms a very good army, and the Lord Goring, with ten thousand men, shows himself on the borders of Scotland, to try if that might not cause the Scots to recall their forces; and, I am persuaded, had he entered Scotland, the parliament of Scotland had recalled the Earl of Calendar, for they had but five thousand men left in arms to send against him; but they were loath to venture.

However, this effect it had, that it called the Scots northward again, and found them work there for the rest of the summer, to reduce the several towns in the bishopric of Durham.

I found with the prince the poor remains of my regiment, which, when joined with those that had been with me, could not all make up three troops, and but two captains, three lieutenants, and one cornet; the rest were dispersed, killed, or taken prisoners.

However, with those, which we still called a regiment, I joined the prince, and after having done all we could on that

side, the Scots being returned from York, the prince returned through Lancashire to Chester.

The enemy often appeared and alarmed us, and once fell on one of our parties, and killed us about a hundred men; but we were too many for them to pretend to fight us, so we came to Bolton, beat the troops of the enemy near Warrington, where I got a cut with a halbert in my face, and arrived at Chester the beginning of August.

The parliament, upon their great success in the north, thinking the king's forces quite broken, had sent their general, Essex, into the west, where the king's army was commanded by Prince Maurice, Prince Rupert's elder brother, but not very strong; and the king being, as they supposed, by the absence of Prince Rupert, weakened so much as that he might be checked by Sir William Waller, who, with four thousand five hundred foot, and fifteen hundred horse, was at that time about Winchester, having lately beaten Sir Ralph Hopton. Upon all these considerations, the Earl of Essex marches westward.

The forces in the west being too weak to oppose him, everything gave way to him, and all people expected he would besiege Exeter, where the queen was newly lying-in, and sent a trumpet to desire he would forbear the city, while she could be removed; which he did, and passed on westward, took Tiverton, Biddeford, Barnstaple, Launceston, relieved Plymouth, drove Sir Richard Grenvil up into Cornwall, and followed him thither, but left Prince Maurice behind him with four thousand men about Barnstaple and Exeter. The king, in the meantime, marches from Oxford into Worcester, with Waller at his heels; at Edgehill his majesty turns upon Waller, and gave him a brush, to put him in mind of the place; the king goes on to Worcester, sends three hundred horse to relieve Durley Castle, besieged by the Earl of Denby, and sending part of his forces to Bristol, returns to Oxford.

His majesty had now firmly resolved to march into the west, not having yet any account of our misfortunes in the north. Waller and Middleton waylay the king at Cropedy bridge. The king assaults Middleton at the bridge; Waller's men were posted with some cannon to guard a pass; Middleton's men put a regiment of the king's foot to the rout, and pursued them. Waller's men, willing to come in for the plunder, a thing their general had often used them to, quit their post at the pass, and their great guns, to have part in the victory. The king, coming in seasonably to the relief of his men, routs Middleton, and at the same time sends a party round, who clapt in between Sir William Waller's men and their great guns, and secured the pass and the cannon too.

The king took three colonels, besides other officers, and about three hundred men prisoners, with eight great guns, nineteen carriages of ammunition, and killed about two hundred men.

Waller lost his reputation in this fight, and was exceedingly slighted ever after, even by his own party; but especially by such as were of General Essex's party, between whom and Waller there had been jealousies and misunderstandings for some time.

The king, about eight thousand strong, marched on to Bristol, where Sir William Hopton joined him, and from thence he follows Essex into Cornwall; Essex still following Grenvil, the king comes to Exeter, and joining with Prince Maurice, resolves to pursue Essex; and now the Earl of Essex began to see his mistake, being cooped up between two seas, the king's army in his rear, the country his enemy, and Sir Richard Grenvil in his van.

The king, who always took the best measures when he was left to his own counsel, wisely refuses to engage, though superior in number, and much stronger in horse. Essex often drew out to fight, but the king fortifies, takes the passes

and bridges, plants cannon, and secures the country to keep off provisions, and continually strengthens their quarters, but would not fight.

Now Essex sends away to the parliament for help, and they write to Waller, and Middleton, and Manchester to follow, and come up with the king in his rear; but some were too far off, and could not, as Manchester and Fairfax; others made no haste, as having no mind to it, as Waller and Middleton, and if they had, it had been too late.

At last the Earl of Essex, finding nothing to be done, and unwilling to fall into the king's hands, takes shipping, and leaves his army to shift for themselves. The horse, under Sir William Balfour, the best horse officer, and, without comparison, the bravest in all the parliament army, advanced in small parties, as if to skirmish, but falling in with the whole body, being three thousand five hundred horse, broke through, and got off. Though this was a loss to the king's victory, yet the foot were now in a condition so much the worse. Brave old Skippon proposed to fight through with the foot and die, as he called it, like Englishmen, with sword in hand; but the rest of the officers shook their heads at it: for, being well paid, they had at present no occasion for dying.

Seeing it thus, they agreed to treat, and the king grants them conditions, upon laying down their arms, to march off free. This was too much; had his majesty but obliged them upon oath not to serve again for a certain time, he had done his business; but this was not thought of; so they passed free, only disarmed, the soldiers not being allowed so much as their swords.

The king gained by this treaty forty pieces of cannon, all of brass, three hundred barrels of gunpowder, nine thousand arms, eight thousand swords, match and bullet in proportion, two hundred waggons, one hundred and fifty colours and standards, all the bag and baggage of his army, and about one thousand of his men listed in his army. This was a

complete victory without bloodshed ; and, had the king but secured the men from serving but for six months, it had most effectually answered the battle of Marston Moor. ..

As it was, it infused new life into all his majesty's forces and friends, and retrieved his affairs very much ; but especially it encouraged us in the north, who were more sensible of the blow received at Marston Moor, and of the destruction the Scots were bringing upon us all.

We now had received orders from the king to join him ; but I representing to the prince the condition of my regiment, which was now a hundred men, and, that being within twenty-five miles of my father's house, I might soon recruit it, my father having got some men together already, I desired leave to lie at Shrewsbury for a month, to make up my men. Accordingly, having obtained his leave, I marched to Wrexham, where, in two days' time I got twenty men, and so on to Shrewsbury. I had not been here above ten days, but I received an express to come away with what recruits I had got together, Prince Rupert having positive orders to meet the king by a certain day. I had not mounted a hundred men, though I had listed above two hundred, when these orders came ; but leaving my father to complete them for me, I marched with those I had, and came to Oxford.

The king, after the rout of the parliament forces in the west, was marched back, took Barnstaple, Plympton, Launceston, Tiverton, and several other places, and left Plymouth besieged by Sir Richard Grenvil ; met with Sir William Waller at Shaftesbury, and again at Andover, and boxed him at both places, and marched for Newbury. Here the king sent for Prince Rupert to meet him, who, with three thousand horse, made long marches to join him ; but the parliament having joined their three armies together, Manchester from the north, Waller and Essex, the men being clothed and armed, from the west, they attacked the king, and obliged him to fight the day before the prince came up.

The king had so posted himself, as that he could not be obliged to fight but with advantage; the parliament's forces being superior in number, and, therefore, when they attacked him, he galled them with his cannon, and declining to come to a general battle, stood upon the defensive, expecting Prince Rupert with the horse.

The parliament's forces had some advantage over our foot, and took the Earl of Cleveland prisoner; but the king, whose foot were not above one to two, drew his men under the cannon of Dennington Castle, and having secured his artillery and baggage, made a retreat with his foot in very good order, having not lost in all the fight above three hundred men, and the parliament as many. We lost five pieces of cannon, and took two, having repulsed the Earl of Manchester's men on the north side of the town, with considerable loss.

The king, having lodged his train of artillery and baggage in Dennington Castle, marched the next day for Oxford; there we joined him with three thousand horse and two thousand foot. Encouraged with this reinforcement, the king appears upon the hills on the north-west of Newbury, and faces the parliament army. The parliament having too many generals as well as soldiers, they could not agree whether they should fight or no. This was no great token of the victory they boasted of; for they were now twice our number in the whole; and their foot three for one. The king stood in battalia all day, and finding the parliament forces had no stomach to engage him, he drew away his cannon and baggage out of Dennington Castle in view of their whole army, and marched away to Oxford.

This was such a false step of the parliament's generals, that all the people cried shame of them: the parliament appointed a committee to inquire into it. Cromwell accused Manchester, and he Waller, and so they laid the fault upon one another. Waller would have been glad to have charged it upon Essex; but as it happened he was not in the army,

having been taken ill some days before ; but, as it generally is, when a mistake is made the actors fall out among themselves, so it was here. No doubt it was as false a step as that of Cornwall, to let the king fetch away his baggage and cannon in the face of three armies, and never fire a shot at them.

The king had not above eight thousand foot in his army, and they above twenty-five thousand. It is true, the king had eight thousand horse, a fine body, and much superior to theirs ; but the foot might, with the greatest ease in the world have prevented the removing the cannon, and in three days' time have taken the castle, with all that was in it.

Those differences produced their self-denying ordinance, and the putting by most of their old generals, as Essex, Waller, Manchester, and the like ; and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a terrible man in the field, though the mildest man out of it, was voted to have the command of all their forces, and Lambert to take the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax's troops in the north, old Skippon being major-general.

This winter was spent, on the enemy's side, in modelling, as they called it, their army ; and on our side, in recruiting ours, and some petty excursions. Amongst the many addresses, I observed one from Sussex or Surrey, complaining of the rudeness of their soldiers ; from which I only observed, that there were disorders among them, as well as among us, only with this difference, that they, for reasons I mentioned before, were under circumstances to prevent it better than the king. But I must do the king's memory that justice, that he used all possible methods, by punishment of soldiers, charging, and sometimes entreating the gentlemen not to suffer such disorders and such violences in their men ; but it was to no purpose for his majesty to attempt it, while his officers, generals, and great men winked at it ; for the licentiousness of the soldier is supposed to be approved by the officer, when it is not corrected.

The rudeness of the parliament soldiers began from the divisions among their officers; for, in many places, the soldiers grew so out of all discipline, and so unsufferably rude, that they, in particular, refused to march when Sir William Waller went to Weymouth. This had turned to good account for us, had these unlucky Scots been out of our way, but they were the staff of the party; and now they were daily solicited to march southward, which was a very great affliction to the king and all his friends.

One booty the king got at this time, which was a very seasonable assistance to his affairs, viz. a great merchant ship richly laden at London, and bound to the East Indies, was, by the seamen, brought into Bristol, and delivered up to the king. Some merchants in Bristol offered the king 40,000*l.* for her, which his majesty ordered should be accepted, reserving only thirty great guns for his own use.

The treaty at Uxbridge now was begun, and we that had been well beaten in the war, heartily wished the king would come to a peace; but we all foresaw the clergy would ruin it all. The commons were for presbytery, and would never agree the bishops should be restored; the king was willing to comply with anything than this, and we foresaw it would be so; from whence we used to say among ourselves, That the clergy was resolved, if there should be no bishop, there should be no king.

This treaty at Uxbridge was a perfect war between the men of the gown; ours was between those of the sword; and I cannot but take notice how the lawyers, statesmen, and the clergy of every side bestirred themselves, rather to hinder than promote the peace.

There had been a treaty at Oxford some time before, where the parliament insisting that the king should pass a bill to abolish episcopacy, quit the militia, abandon several of his faithful servants to be exempted from pardon, and making several other most extravagant demands, nothing

was done, but the treaty broke off, both parties being rather farther exasperated, than inclined to hearken to conditions.

However, soon after the success in the west, his majesty, to let them see that victory had not puffed him up so as to make him reject the peace, sends a message to the parliament to put them in mind of messages of like nature which they had slighted; and to let them know, that, notwithstanding he had beaten their forces, he was yet willing to hearken to a reasonable proposal for putting an end to the war.

The parliament pretended the king, in his message, did not treat with them as a legal parliament, and so made hesitations; but, after long debates and delays, they agreed to draw up propositions for peace to be sent to the king. As this message was sent to the houses about August, I think they made it the middle of November before they brought the propositions for peace; and when they brought them, they had no power to enter either upon a treaty, or so much as preliminaries for a treaty, only to deliver the letter, and receive an answer.

However, such were the circumstances of affairs at this time, that the king was uneasy to see himself thus treated, and take no notice of it. The king returned an answer to the propositions, and proposed a treaty by commissioners, which the parliament appointed.

Three months more were spent in naming commissioners. There was much time spent in this treaty, but little done; the commissioners debated chiefly the article of religion, and of the militia; in the latter they were very likely to agree; in the former both sides seemed too positive. The king would by no means abandon episcopacy, nor the parliament presbytery; for both, in their opinion, were *jure divino*.

The commissioners, finding this point hardest to adjust,

went from it to that of the militia; but the time spinning out, the king's commissioners demanded longer time for the treaty; the other sent up for instructions, but the house refused to lengthen out the time.

This was thought an insolence upon the king, and gave all good people a detestation of such haughty behaviour; and thus the hopes of peace vanished; both sides prepared for war with as much eagerness as before.

The parliament was employed at this time in what they called modelling their army; that is to say, that now the independent party beginning to prevail, and as they outdid all the others in their resolution of carrying on the war to all extremities, so they were both the more vigorous and more politic party in carrying it on.

Indeed the war was after this carried on with greater animosity than ever, and the generals pushed forward with a vigour, that, as it had something in it unusual, so it told us plainly from this time, whatever they did before, they now pushed at the ruin even of the monarchy itself.

All this while also the war went on; and though the parliament had no settled army, yet their regiments and troops were always in action, and the sword was at work in every part of the kingdom.

Among an infinite number of party skirmishings and fights this winter, one happened which nearly concerned me, which was the surprise of the town and castle of Shrewsbury. Colonel Mitton, with about twelve hundred horse and foot, having intelligence with some people in the town, on a Sunday morning early broke into the town, and took it castle and all. The loss for the quality, more than the number, was very great to the king's affairs. They took there fifteen pieces of cannon, Prince Maurice's magazine of arms and ammunition, Prince Rupert's baggage, above fifty persons of quality and officers: there was not above eight or ten men killed on both sides; for the town was

surprised, not storm'd. I had a particular loss in this action; for all the men and horses my father had got together for recruiting my regiment were here lost and dispersed; and, which was the worst, my father happening to be then in the town, was taken prisoner, and carried to Beeston Castle, in Cheshire.

I was quartered all this winter at Banbury, and went little abroad; nor had we any action till the latter end of February, when I was ordered to march to Leicester, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in order, as we thought, to raise a body of men in that county and Staffordshire, to join the king.

We lay at Daventry one night, and continuing our march to pass the river above Northampton, that town being possessed by the enemy, we understood a party of Northampton forces were abroad, and intended to attack us. Accordingly, in the afternoon, our scouts brought us word the enemy were quartered in some villages on the road to Coventry; our commander thinking it much better to set upon them in their quarters, than to wait for them in the field, resolves to attack them early in the morning, before they were aware of it. We refreshed ourselves in the field for that day, and getting into a great wood near the enemy, we stayed there all night, till almost break of day, without being discovered.

In the morning, very early, we heard the enemy's trumpets sound to horse; this roused us to look abroad; and sending out a scout, he brought us word a party of the enemy was at hand. We were vexed to be so disappointed, but finding their party small enough to be dealt with, Sir Marmaduke ordered me to charge them with three hundred horse and two hundred dragoons, while he at the same time entered the town. Accordingly I lay still till they came to the very skirt of the wood where I was posted, when I saluted them with a volley from my dragoons

out of the wood, and immediately showed myself with my horse on their front, ready to charge them; they appeared not to be surprised, and received our charge with great resolution; and being above four hundred men, they pushed me vigorously in their turn, putting my men into some disorder. In this extremity, I sent to order my dragoons to charge them in the flank, which they did with great bravery, and the other still maintained the fight with desperate resolution. There was no want of courage in our men on both sides, but our dragoons had the advantage, and at last routed them, and drove them back to the village. Here Sir Marmaduke Langdale had his hands full too; for my firing had alarmed the towns adjacent, that when he came into the town, he found them all in arms; and, contrary to his expectations, two regiments of foot with about three hundred horse more. As Sir Marmaduke had no foot, only horse and dragoons, this was a surprise to him; but he caused his dragoons to enter the town, and charge the foot, while his horse secured the avenues of the town.

The dragoons bravely attacked the foot, and Sir Marmaduke falling in with his horse, the fight was obstinate and very bloody, when the horse that I had routed came flying into the street of the village, and my men at their heels. Immediately I left the pursuit, and fell in with all my force to the assistance of my friends, and after an obstinate resistance, we routed the whole party; we killed about seven hundred men, took three hundred and fifty, twenty-seven officers, one hundred arms, all their baggage, and two hundred horses, and continued our march to Harborough, where we halted to refresh ourselves.

Between Harborough and Leicester we met with a party of eight hundred dragoons of the parliament forces. They found themselves too few to attack us, and, therefore, to avoid us, they had gotten into a small wood; but perceiving themselves discovered, they came boldly out, and

placed themselves at the entrance into a lane, lining both sides of the edges with their shot. We immediately attacked them, beat them from their hedges, beat them into the wood, and out of the wood again, and forced them at last to a downright run away, on foot, among the enclosures, where we could not follow them, killed about a hundred of them, and took two hundred and fifty prisoners, with all their horses, and came that night to Leicester. When we came to Leicester, and had taken up our quarters, Sir Marnaduke Langdale sent for me to sup with him, and told me that he had a secret commission in his pocket, which his majesty had commanded him not to open until he came to Leicester; that now he had sent for me to open it together, that we might know what it was we were to do, and to consider how to do it; so pulling out his sealed orders, we found we were to get what force we could together, and a certain number of carriages with ammunition, which the governor of Leicester was to deliver us, and a certain quantity of provision, especially corn and salt, and to relieve Newark. This town had been long besieged; the fortifications of the place, together with its situation, had rendered it the strongest place in England; and, as it was the greatest pass in England, so it was of vast consequence to the king's affairs. There was in it a garrison of brave old rugged boys, fellows that, like Count Tilly's Germans, had iron faces, and they had defended themselves with extraordinary bravery a great while, but were reduced to an exceeding strait for want of provisions.

Accordingly we received the ammunition and provision, and away we went for Newark: about Melton-Mowbray, Colonel Roseter set upon us with above three thousand men; we were about the same number, having two thousand five hundred horse and eight hundred dragoons. We had some foot, but they were still at Harborough, and were ordered to come after us.

Roseter, like a brave officer, as he was, charged us with great fury, and rather outdid us in number, while we defended ourselves with all the eagerness we could, and withal gave him to understand we were not so soon to be beaten as he expected. While the fight continued doubtful, especially on our side, our people, who had charge of the carriages and provisions, began to enclose our flanks with them, as if we had been marching; which, though it was done without orders, had two very good effects, and which did us extraordinary service. First, it secured us from being charged in the flank, which Roseter had twice attempted; and secondly, it secured our carriages from being plundered, which had spoiled our whole expedition. Being thus enclosed, we fought with great security; and though Roseter made three desperate charges upon us, he could never break us. Our men received him with so much courage, and kept their order so well, that the enemy, finding it impossible to force us, gave it over, and left us to pursue our orders. We did not offer to chase them, but contented enough to have repulsed and beaten them off, and our business being to relieve Newark, we proceeded.

If we are to reckon by the enemy's usual method, we got the victory, because we kept the field, and had the pillage of their dead; but, otherwise, neither side had any great cause to boast. We lost about one hundred and fifty men, and near as many hurt; they left one hundred and seventy on the spot, and carried off some. How many they had wounded we could not tell; we got seventy or eighty horses, which helped to remount some of our men that had lost theirs in the fight. We had, however, this disadvantage, that we were to march on immediately after this service; the enemy only to retire to their quarters, which was but hard by. This was an injury to our wounded men, whom we were after obliged to leave at Belvoir Castle, and from thence we advanced to Newark.

Our business at Newark was to relieve the place, and this we resolved to do, whatever it cost, though at the same time we resolved not to fight, unless we were forced to it. The town was rather blocked up than besieged; the garrison was strong, but ill provided; we had sent them word of our coming, and our orders to relieve them, and they proposed some measures for our doing it. The chief strength of the enemy lay on the other side of the river; but they having also some notice of our design, had sent over forces to strengthen their leaguer on this side. The garrison had often surprised them by sallies, and indeed had chiefly subsisted for some time by what they brought in in this manner.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who was our general for the expedition, was for a general attempt to raise the siege; but I had persuaded him off that: first, because if we should be beaten, as might be probable, we then lost the town. Sir Marmaduke briskly replied, A soldier ought never to suppose he shall be beaten. But, sir, says I, you'll get more honour by relieving the town, than by beating them: one will be a credit to your conduct, as the other will be to your courage; and, if you think you can beat them, you may do it afterwards, and then, if you are mistaken, the town is nevertheless secured, and half your victory gained.

He was prevailed with to adhere to this advice, and accordingly we appeared before the town about two hours before night. The horse drew up before the enemy's works; the enemy drew up within their works, and seeing no foot, expected when our dragoons would dismount and attack them. They were in the right to let us attack them, because of the advantage of their batteries and works, if that had been our design; but, as we intended only to amuse them, this caution of theirs effected our design; for, while we thus faced them with our horse, two regiments of foot, which came up to us but the night

before, and was all the infantry we had, with the waggons of provisions, and five hundred dragoons, taking a compass clein round the town, posted themselves on the lower side of the town by the river. Upon a signal the garrison agreed on before, they sallied out at this very juncture, with all the men they could spare, and dividing themselves in two parties, while one party moved to the left to meet our relief, the other party fell on upon part of that body which faced us. We kept in motion, and upon this signal advanced to their works, and our dragoons fired upon them; and the horse wheeling and countermarching often, kept them continually expecting to be attacked. By this means the enemy were kept employed, and our foot, with the waggons, appearing on that quarter where they were least expected, easily defeated the advanced guards, and forced that post, where entering the leaguer, the other part of the garrison, who had sallied that way, came up to them, received the waggons, and the dragoons entered with them into the town. That party, which we faced on the other side of the works, knew nothing of what was done till all was over; the garrison retreated in good order, and we drew off, having finished what we came for without fighting.

Thus we plentifully stored the town with all things wanting, and with an addition of five hundred dragoons to their garrison; after which we marched away without fighting a stroke. Our next orders were to relieve Pontefract Castle, another garrison of the king's, which had been besieged ever since a few days after the fight at Marston Moor, by the Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and other generals in their turn.

By the way, we were joined with eight hundred horse out of Derbyshire, and some foot, so many as made us about four thousand five hundred men in all.

Colonel Forbes, a Scotchman, commanded at the siege, in the absence of the Lord Fairfax; the colonel had sent to

my lord for more troops, and his lordship was gathering his forces to come up to him; but he was pleased to come too late. We came up with the enemy's leaguer about the break of day, and having been discovered by their scouts, they, with more courage than discretion, drew out to meet us. We saw no reason to avoid them, being stronger in horse than they; and though we had but a few foot, we had a thousand dragoons, which helped us out. We had placed our horse and foot throughout in one line, with two reserves of horse, and between every division of horse, a division of foot, only that, on the extremes of our wings, there were two parties of horse on each point by themselves, and the dragoons in the centre on foot. Their foot charged us home, and stood with push of pike a great while; but their horse charging our horse and musketeers, and being closed on the flanks with those two extended troops on our wings, they were presently disordered, and fled out of the field. The foot thus deserted, were charged on every side, and broken. They retreated, still fighting, and in good order, for a while; but the garrison sallying upon them at the same time, and being followed close by our horse, they were scattered, entirely routed, and most of them killed. The Lord Fairfax was come with his horse as far as Ferry-bridge, but the fight was over; and all he could do was to rally those that fled, and save some of their carriages, which else had fallen into our hands. We drew up our little army in order of battle the next day, expecting the Lord Fairfax would have charged us; but his lordship was so far from any such thoughts, that he placed a party of dragoons, with orders to fortify the pass at Ferry-bridge, to prevent our falling upon him in his retreat, which he needed not have done; for having raised the siege of Pontefract, our business was done, we had nothing to say to him, unless we had been strong enough to stay.

We lost not above thirty men in this action, and the enemy

three hundred, with about a hundred and fifty prisoners, one piece of cannon, all their ammunition, a thousand arms, and most of their baggage; and Colonel Lambert was once taken prisoner, being wounded, but got off again.

We brought no relief for the garrison, but the opportunity to furnish themselves out of the country, which they did very plentifully. The ammunition taken from the enemy was given to them, which they wanted, and was their due, for they had seized it in the sally they made, before the enemy was quite defeated.

I cannot omit taking notice, on all occasions, how exceeding serviceable this method was of posting musketeers in the intervals, among the horse, in all this war. I persuaded our generals to it, as much as possible, and I never knew a body of horse beaten that did so; yet I had great difficulty to prevail upon our people to believe it, though it was taught me by the greatest general in the world, viz. the King of Sweden. Prince Rupert did it at the battle of Marston Moor; and had the Earl of Newcastle not been obstinate against it in his right wing, as I observed before, the day had not been lost. In discoursing this with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, I had related several examples of the serviceableness of these small bodies of firemen, and, with great difficulty, brought him to agree, telling him, I would be answerable for the success; but, after the fight, he told me plainly he saw the advantage of it, and would never fight otherwise again, if he had any foot to place. So having relieved these two places, we hastened, by long marches, through Derbyshire, to join Prince Rupert on the edge of Shropshire and Cheshire. We found Colonel Roseter had followed us at a distance, ever since the business at Melton-Mowbray, but never cared to attack us, and we found he did the like still. Our general would fain have been doing with him again, but we found him too shy. Once we laid a trap for him at Dove-bridge, between Derby and Burton.

upon-Trent; the body being marched two days before, three hundred dragoons were left to guard the bridge, as if we were afraid he should fall upon us. Upon this we marched, as I said, on to Burton, and, the next day, fetching a compass round, came to a village near Tithbury Castle, whose name I forgot, where we lay still, expecting our dragoons would be attacked.

Accordingly the colonel, strengthened with some troops of horse from Yorkshire, comes up to the bridge, and finding some dragoons posted, advances to charge them: the dragoons immediately get a horseback, and run for it, as they were ordered; but the old lad was not to be caught so; for he halts immediately at the bridge, and would not come over till he had sent three or four flying parties abroad, to discover the country. One of these parties fell into our hands, and received but coarse entertainment. Finding the plot would not take, we appeared, and drew up in view of the bridge, but he would not stir; so we continued our march into Cheshire, where we joined Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, making together a fine body, being above eight thousand horse and dragoons.

This was the best and most successful expedition I was in during this war. It was well concerted, and executed with as much expedition and conduct as could be desired, and the success was answerable to it; and, indeed, considering the season of the year, for we set out from Oxford the latter end of February, the ways bad, and the season wet, it was a terrible march of above two hundred miles, in continual action, and continually dodged and observed by a vigilant enemy, and at a time when the north was overrun by their armies, and the Scots wanting employment for their forces; yet, in less than twenty-three days, we marched two hundred miles, fought the enemy in open field four times, relieved one garrison besieged, and raised the siege of another, and joined our friends at last in safety.

The enemy was in great pain for Sir William Brereton and his forces, and expresses rid night and day to the Scots in the north, and to the parties in Lancashire, to come to his help. The prince, who used to be rather too forward to fight than otherwise, could not be persuaded to make use of this opportunity, but loitered, if I may be allowed to say so, till the Scots, with a brigade of horse and two thousand foot, had joined him; and then it was not thought proper to engage them.

I took this opportunity to go to Shrewsbury to visit my father, who was a prisoner of war there, getting a pass from the enemy's governor. They allowed him the liberty of the town, and sometimes to go to his own house upon his parole, so that his confinement was not very much to his personal injury; but this, together with the charges he had been at in raising the regiment, and above 20,000*l.* in money and plate, which at several times he had lent, or given rather, to the king, had reduced our family to very ill circumstances; and now they talked of cutting down his woods.

I had a great deal of discourse with my father on this affair; and finding him extremely concerned, I offered to go to the king, and desire his leave to go to London, and treat about his composition, or to render myself a prisoner in his stead, while he went up himself. In this difficulty I treated with the governor of the town, who very civilly offered me his pass to go for London, which I accepted; and waiting on Prince Rupert, who was then at Worcester, I acquainted him with my design. The prince was unwilling I should go to London, but told me he had some prisoners of the parliament's friends in Cumberland, and he would get an exchange for my father. I told him if he would give me his word for it, I knew I might depend upon it, otherwise there was so many of the king's party in their hands, that his majesty was tired with solicitations for exchanges; for we never had a prisoner but there was ten offers of exchange for him. The prince

told me I should depend upon him; and he was as good as his word quickly after.

While the prince lay at Worcester he made an incursion into Herefordshire, and having made some of the gentlemen prisoners, brought them to Worcester; and though it was an action which had not been usual, they being persons not in arms, yet the like being my father's case, who was really not in commission, nor in any military service, having resigned his regiment three years before to me, the prince insisted on exchanging them for such as the parliament had in custody in like circumstances. The gentlemen seeing no remedy, solicited their own case at the parliament, and got it passed in their behalf; and by this means my father got his liberty; and, by the assistance of the Earl of Denbigh, got leave to come to London to make a composition, as a delinquent, for his estate. This they charged at 7000*l.*; but by the assistance of the same noble person, he got off for 4000*l.* Some members of the committee moved very kindly, that my father should oblige me to quit the king's service; but that, as a thing which might be out of his power, was not insisted on.

The modelling of the parliament army took them up all this winter, and we were in great hopes the division which appeared amongst them might have weakened their party; but when they voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be general, I confess I was convinced the king's affairs were lost and desperate. Sir Thomas, abating the zeal of his party, and the mistaken opinion of his cause, was the fittest man amongst them to undertake the charge: he was a complete general, strict in his discipline, wary in conduct, fearless in action, unwearied in the fatigue of the war, and, withal, of a modest, noble, generous disposition. We all apprehended danger from him, and heartily wished him of our own side; and the king was so sensible, though he would not discover it, that, when an account was brought him of the

choice they had made, he replied he was sorry for it; he had rather it had been anybody than he.

The first attempts of this new general and new army were at Oxford, which, by the neighbourhood of a numerous garrison in Abingdon, began to be very much straitened for provisions; and the new forces under Cromwell and Skippon, one lieutenant-general, the other major-general to Fairfax, approaching with a design to block it up, the king left the place, supposing his absence would draw them away, as it soon did.

The king resolving to leave Oxford, marches from thence with all his forces, the garrison excepted, with design to have gone to Bristol, but the plague was in Bristol, which altered the measures, and changed the course of the king's designs; so he marched for Worcester, about the beginning of June, 1645. The foot, with a train of forty pieces of cannon, marching into Worcester, the horse stayed behind some time in Gloucestershire.

The first action our army did was to raise the siege of Chester. Sir William Brereton had besieged it, or rather blocked it up, and when his majesty came to Worcester, he sent Prince Rupert with four thousand horse and dragoons, with orders to join some foot out of Wales, to raise the siege; but Sir William thought fit to withdraw, and not stay for them, and the town was freed without fighting. The governor took care in this interval to furnish himself with all things necessary for another siege; and as for ammunition and other necessaries, he was in no want.

I was sent with a party into Staffordshire, with design to intercept a convoy of stores coming from London, for the use of Sir William Brereton; but they having some notice of the design, stopt, and went out of the road to Burton-upon-Trent, and so I missed them; but that we might not come back quite empty, we attacked Hawkesly-house, and took it, where we got good booty, and brought eighty prisoners.

back to Worcester. From Worcester the king advanced into Shropshire, and took his head-quarters at Bridgenorth. This was a very happy march of the king's, and had his majesty proceeded, he had certainly cleared the north once more of his enemies, for the country was generally for him. At his advancing so far as Bridgenorth, Sir William Brereton fled up into Lancashire; the Scots' brigades who were with him retreated into the north, while yet the king was above forty miles from them, and all things lay open for conquest. The new generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, lay about Oxford, preparing as if they would besiege it, and gave the king's army so much leisure, that his majesty might have been at Newcastle before they could have been half way to him. But heaven, when the ruin of a person or party is determined, always so infatuates their counsels, as to make them instrumental to it themselves.

The king let slip this great opportunity, as some thought, intending to break into the associated counties of Northampton, Cambridge, and Norfolk, where he had some interests forming. What the design was we knew not, but the king turns eastward, and marches into Leicestershire, and having treated the country but very indifferently, as having deserved no better of us, laid siege to Leicester.

This was but a short siege; for the king, resolving not to lose time, fell on with his great guns, and having beaten down their works, our foot entered, after a vigorous resistance, and took the town by storm. There was some blood shed here, the town being carried by assault; but it was their own faults; for, after the town was taken, the soldiers and townsmen obstinately fought us in the market-place; insomuch that the horse was called to enter the town to clear the streets. But this was not all. I was commanded to advance with these horse, being three regiments, and to enter the town; the foot, who were engaged in the streets, crying out, Horse, horse! Immediately I advanced to the

gate, for we were drawn up about musket-shot from the works, to have supported our foot, in case of a sally. Having seized the gate, I placed a guard of horse there, with orders to let nobody pass in or out, and dividing my troops, rode up by two ways towards the market-place; the garrison defending themselves in the market-place, and in the churchyard, with great obstinacy, killed us a great many men; but as soon as our horse appeared, they demanded quarter, which our foot refused them in the first heat, as is frequent in all nations, in like cases; till at last they threw down their arms, and yielded at discretion; and then, I can testify to the world, that fair quarter was given them. I am the more particular in this relation, having been an eye-witness of the action, because the king was reproached in all the public libels, with which those times abounded, for having put a great many to death, and hanged the committee of the parliament, and some Scots, in cold blood, which was a notorious forgery; and as I am sure there was no such thing done, so I must acknowledge I never saw any inclination in his majesty to cruelty, or to act anything which was not practised by the general laws of war, and by men of honour in all nations.

But the matter of fact, in respect to the garrison, was as I have related; and, if they had thrown down their arms sooner, they had had mercy sooner; but it was not for a conquering army, entering a town by storm, to offer conditions of quarter in the streets.

Another circumstance was, that a great many of the inhabitants, both men and women, were killed, which is most true; and the case was thus. The inhabitants, to show their over-forward zeal to defend the town, fought in the breach; nay, the very women, to the honour of the Leicester ladies, if they like it, officiously did their parts; and after the town was taken, and when, if they had had any brains in their zeal, they would have kept their houses

and been quiet, they fired upon our men out of their windows and from the tops of their houses, and threw tiles upon their heads ; and I had several of my men wounded so, and seven or eight killed. This exasperated us to the last degree ; and finding one house better manned than ordinary, and many shot fired at us out of the windows, I caused my men to attack it, resolved to make them an example for the rest ; which they did, and breaking open the doors, they killed all they found there, without distinction ; and I appeal to the world if they were to blame. If the parliament committee, or the Scots' deputies, were here, they ought to have been quiet, since the town was taken ; but they began with us, and, I think, brought it upon themselves. This is the whole case, so far as came within my knowledge, for which his majesty was so much abused.

We took here Colonel Gray and Captain Hacker, and about three hundred prisoners, and about three hundred more were killed. This was the last day of May, 1645.

His majesty having given over Oxford for lost, continued here some days, viewed the town, ordered the fortifications to be augmented, and prepares to make it the seat of war. But the parliament, roused at this appearance of the king's army, orders their general to raise the siege of Oxford, where the garrison had, in a sally, ruined some of their works, and killed them one hundred and fifty men, taking several prisoners, and carrying them with them into the city ; and, orders him to march towards Leicester to observe the king.

The king had now a small, but gallant army, all brave tried soldiers, and seemed eager to engage the new-modelled army ; and his majesty, hearing that Sir Thomas Fairfax, having raised the siege of Oxford, advanced towards him, fairly saves him the trouble of a long march, and meets him half way.

The army lay at Daventry, and Fairfax at Towcester,

about eight miles off. Here the king sends away six hundred horse, with three thousand head of cattle, to relieve his people in Oxford; the cattle he might have spared better than the men. The king having thus victualled Oxford, changes his resolution of fighting Fairfax, to whom Cromwell was now joined with four thousand men, or was within a day's march, and marches northward. This was unhappy counsel, because late given. Had we marched northward at first, we had done it; but thus it was. Now we marched with a triumphing enemy at our heels, and at Naseby their advanced parties attacked our rear. The king, upon this, alters his resolution again, and resolves to fight, and at midnight calls us up at Harborough to come to a council of war. Fate and the king's opinion determined the council of war; and it was resolved to fight. Accordingly the van, in which was Prince Rupert's brigade of horse, of which my regiment was a part, countermarched early in the morning.

By five o'clock in the morning, the whole army, in order of battle, began to descry the enemy from the rising grounds about a mile from Naseby, and moved towards them. They were drawn up on a little ascent in a large common fallow field, in one line, extending from one side of the field to the other, the field something more than a mile over; our army in the same order, in one line, with the reserves.

The king led the main battle of foot, Prince Rupert the right wing of the horse, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. Of the enemy Fairfax and Skippon led the body, Cromwell and Roseter the right, and Ireton the left. The numbers of both armies so equal, as not to differ five hundred men, save that the king had most horse by about one thousand, and Fairfax most foot by about five hundred. The number was in each army about eighteen thousand men.

The armies coming close up, the wings engaged first.

The prince with his right wing charged with his wonted fury, and drove all the parliament's wing of horse, one division excepted, clear out of the field. Ireton, who commanded this wing, gave him his due, rallied often, and fought like a lion; but our wing bore down all before them, and pursued them with a terrible execution.

Ireton, seeing one division of his horse left, repaired to them, and keeping his ground, fell foul of a brigade of our foot, who coming up to the head of the line, he like a madman charges them with his horse. But they with their pikes tore them to pieces; so that this division was entirely ruined. Ireton himself, thrust through the thigh with a pike, wounded in the face with a halberd, was unhorsed and taken prisoner.

Cromwell, who commanded the parliament's right wing, charged Sir Marmaduke Langdale with extraordinary fury; but he, an old tried soldier, stood firm, and received the charge with equal gallantry, exchanging all their shot, carabines, and pistols, and then fell on sword in hand. Roseter and Whaley had the better on the point of the wing, and routed two divisions of horse, pushed them behind the reserves, where they rallied, and charged again, but were at last defeated; the rest of the horse, now charged in the flank, retreated fighting, and were pushed behind the reserves of foot.

While this was doing, the foot engaged with equal fierceness, and for two hours there was a terrible fire. The king's foot, backed with gallant officers, and full of rage at the rout of their horse, bore down the enemy's brigade led by Skippon. The old man wounded, bleeding, retreats to their reserves. All the foot, except the general's brigade, were thus driven into the reserves, where their officers rallied them, and brought them on to a fresh charge; and here the horse having driven our horse above a quarter of a mile from the foot, face about, and fall in on the rear of the foot.

Had our right wing done thus, the day had been secured ; but Prince Rupert, according to his custom, following the flying enemy, never concerned himself with the safety of those behind ; and yet he returned sooner than he had done in like cases too. At our return we found all in confusion, our foot broken, all but one brigade, which, though charged in the front, flank, and rear, could not be broken, till Sir Thomas Fairfax himself came up to the charge with fresh men, and then they were rather cut in pieces than beaten ; for they stood with their pikes charged every way to the last extremity.

In this condition, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, we saw the king rallying his horse, and preparing to renew the fight ; and our wing of horse coming up to him, gave him opportunity to draw up a large body of horse ; so large, that all the enemy's horse facing us, stood still and looked on, but did not think fit to charge us, till their foot, who had entirely broken our main battle, were put into order again, and brought up to us.

The officers about the king advised his majesty rather to draw off ; for, since our foot were lost, it would be too much odds to expose the horse to the fury of their whole army, and would be but sacrificing his best troops, without any hopes of success.

The king, though with great regret at the loss of his foot, yet seeing there was no other hope, took this advice, and retreated in good order to Harborough, and from thence to Leicester.

This was the occasion of the enemy having so great a number of prisoners ; for the horse being thus gone off, the foot had no means to make their retreat, and were obliged to yield themselves. Commissary-general Ireton being taken by a captain of foot, makes the captain his prisoner, to save his life, and gives him his liberty for his courtesy before

Cromwell and Roseter, with all the enemy's horse, followed us as far as Leicester, and killed all that they could lay hold on straggling from the body, but durst not attempt to charge us in a body. The king expecting the enemy would come to Leicester, removes to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, where we had some time to recollect ourselves.

This was the most fatal action of the whole war; not so much for the loss of our cannon, ammunition, and baggage, of which the enemy boasted so much, but as it was impossible for the king ever to retrieve it. The foot, the best that he was ever master of, could never be supplied; his army in the west was exposed to certain ruin; the north overrun with the Scots; in short, the case grew desperate, and the king was once upon the point of bidding us all disband, and shift for ourselves.

We lost in this fight not above two thousand slain, and the parliament near as many, but the prisoners were a great number; the whole body of foot being, as I have said, dispersed, there were four thousand five hundred prisoners, besides four hundred officers, two thousand horses, twelve pieces of cannon, forty barrels of powder, all the king's baggage, coaches, most of his servants, and his secretary, with his cabinet of letters, of which the parliament made great improvement, and, basely enough, caused his private letters between his majesty and the queen, her majesty's letters to the king, and a great deal of such stuff, to be printed.

After this fatal blow, being retreated, as I have said, to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire, the king ordered us to divide; his majesty with a body of horse, about three thousand, went to Lichfield, and through Cheshire into North Wales, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with about two thousand five hundred, went to Newark.

The king remained in Wales for several months; and though the length of the war had almost drained that country

of men, yet the king raised a great many men there, recruited his horse regiments, and got together six or seven regiments of foot, which seemed to look like the beginning of a new army.

And now his majesty was resolved to make one adventure more, and it was a strange one; for, with but a handful of men, he made a desperate march, almost two hundred and fifty miles, in the middle of the whole kingdom, compassed about with armies and parties innumerable, traversed the heart of his enemy's country, entered their associated counties, where no army had ever yet come, and, in spite of all their victorious troops facing and following him, alarmed even London itself, and returned safe to Oxford.

His majesty continued in Wales from the battle at Naseby till the 5th or 6th of August, and till he had an account from all parts of the progress of his enemies, and the posture of his own affairs.

Here we found that the enemy, being hard pressed in Somersetshire by the Lord Goring, and Lord Hampton's forces, who had taken Bridgewater, and distressed Taunton, which was now at the point of surrender, they had ordered Fairfax and Cromwell, and the whole army, to march westward, to relieve the town; which they did, and Goring's troops were worsted, and himself wounded at the fight at Langport.

The Scots, who were always the dead weight upon the king's affairs, having no more work to do in the north, were, at the parliament's desire, advanced southward, and then ordered away towards South Wales, and were set down to the siege of Hereford. Here this famous Scotch army spent several months in a fruitless siege, ill provided of ammunition, and worse with money; and having sat near three months before the town, and done little but eat up the country round them, upon the repeated accounts of the progress of the Marquis of Montrose in that king-

dom, and pressing instances of their countrymen, they resolved to raise their siege, and go home to relieve their friends.

The king was willing to be rid of the Scots upon good terms; and therefore to hasten them, and lest they should pretend to push on the siege to take the town first, gives it out, that he was resolved with all his forces to go into Scotland and join Montrose and so having secured Scotland, to renew the war from thence.

And accordingly his majesty marches northwards, with a body of four thousand horse; and had the king really done this, and with that body of horse marched away (for he had the start of all his enemies, by above a fortnight's march), he had then had the fairest opportunity for a general turn of all his affairs, that he ever had in all the latter part of this war: "for Montrose, a gallant daring soldier, who from the least shadow of force in the farthest corner of his country, had, rolling like a snowball, spread all over Scotland, was come into the south parts, and had summoned Edinburgh, frightened away their statesmen, beaten their soldiers at Dundee and other places; and letters and messengers, in the heels of one another, repeated their cries to their brethren in England, to lay before them the sad condition of the country, and to hasten the army to their relief. The Scots' lords of the enemy's party fled to Berwick, and the chancellor of Scotland goes himself to General Lesly, to press him for help."

In this extremity of affairs Scotland lay, when we marched out of Wales. The Scots at the siege of Hereford, hearing the king was gone northward with his horse, concluded he was gone directly for Scotland, and immediately sent Lesly with four thousand horse and foot to follow, but did not yet raise the siege.

But the king, still irresolute, turns away to the east-

ward, and comes to Lichfield, where he showed his resentments at Colonel Hastings for his easy surrender of Leicester.

In this march the enemy took heart; we had troops of horse on every side upon us, like hounds started at a fresh stag. Lesly, with the Scots, and a strong body, followed in our rear, Major-general Pointz, Sir John Gell, Colonel Rosseter, and others, in our way; they pretended to be ten thousand horse, and yet never durst face us. The Scots made one attempt upon a troop which stayed a little behind, and took some prisoners; but when a regiment of our horse faced them, they retired. At a village near Lichfield, another party of about a thousand horse attacked my regiment; we were on the left of the army, and at a little too far a distance. I happened to be with the king at that time, and my lieutenant-colonel with him, so that the major had charge of the regiment; he made a very handsome defence, but sent messengers for speedy relief; we were on a march, and therefore all ready, and the king orders me a regiment of dragoons and three hundred horse, and the body halted to bring us off, not knowing how strong the enemy might be. When I came to the place, I found my major hard laid to, but fighting like a lion; the enemy had broke in upon him in two places, and had routed one troop, cutting them off from the body, and had made them all prisoners. Upon this I fell in with the three hundred horse, and cleared my major from a party who charged him in the flank; the dragoons immediately alighting, one party of them comes up on my wing, and saluting the enemy with their muskets, put them to a stand; the other party of dragoons wheeling to the left, endeavouring to get behind them. The enemy perceiving they should be overpowered, retreated in as good order as they could, but left us most of our prisoners, and about thirty of their own. We lost about fifteen of our men, and the

enemy about forty, chiefly by the fire of our dragoons in their retreat.

In this posture we continued our march; and though the king halted at Lichfield, which was a dangerous article, having so many of the enemy's troops upon his hands; and this time gave them opportunity to get into a body; yet the Scots with their General Lesly, resolving for the north, the rest of the troops were not able to face us, till having ravaged the enemy's country through Staffordshire, Warwick, Leicester, and Nottinghamshire, we came to the leaguer before Newark.

The king was once more in the mind to have gone into Scotland, and called a council of war to that purpose; but then it was resolved by all hands that it would be too late to attempt it; for the Scots, and Major-General Pointz, were before us, and several strong bodies of horse in our rear; and there was no venturing now, unless any advantage presented to rout one of those parties which attended us.

Upon these, and like considerations, we resolved for Newark; on our approach, the forces which blocked up that town drew off, being too weak to oppose us; for the king was now above five thousand horse and dragoons, besides three hundred horse and dragoons he took with him from Newark.

We halted at Newark to assist the garrison, or give them time rather to furnish themselves from the country with what they wanted, which they were very diligent in doing; for, in two days' time, they filled a large island, which lies under the town, between the two branches of the Trent, with sheep, oxen, cows, and horses, an incredible number; and our affairs being now something desperate, we were not very nice in our usage of the country; for really if it was not with a resolution both to punish the enemy and enrich ourselves, no man can give any rational account why this desperate journey was undertaken.

It is certain the Newarkers, in the respite they gained by our coming, got above 50,000*l.* from the country round them, in corn, cattle, money, and other plunder.

From hence we broke into Lincolnshire, and the king lay at Belvoir Castle, and from Belvoir Castle to Stamford. The swiftness of our march was a terrible surprise to the enemy; for our van being at a village on the great road called Stilton, the country people fled into the isle of Ely and every way, as if all was lost. Indeed our dragoons treated the country very coarsely; and all our men, in general, made themselves rich. Between Stilton and Huntingdon we had a small bustle with some of the associated troops of horse, but they were soon routed, and fled to Huntingdon, where they gave such an account of us to their fellows, that they did not think fit to stay for us, but left their foot to defend themselves as well as they could.

While this was doing in the van, a party from Burleigh House, near Stamford, the seat of the Earl of Exeter, pursued four troops of our horse, who straggling towards Peterborough, and committing some disorders there, were surprised before they could get into a posture of fighting; and encumbered, as I suppose, with their plunder, they were entirely routed, lost most of their horses, and were forced to come away on foot; but finding themselves in this condition, they got into a body in the enclosures, and in that posture turning dragoons, they lined the hedges, and fired upon the enemy with their carbines. This way of fighting, though not very pleasant to troopers, put the enemy's horse to some stand, and encouraged our men to venture into a village where the enemy had secured forty of their horse; and boldly charging the guard, they beat them off, and recovering those horses, the rest made their retreat good to Wansford Bridge; but we lost near a hundred horses, and about twelve of our men taken prisoners.

The next day the king took Huntingdon[?]; the foot which were left in the town, as I observed by their horse, had posted themselves at the foot of the bridge, and fortified the pass, with such things as the haste and shortness of the time would allow; and in this posture they seemed resolute to defend themselves. I confess, had they in time planted a good force here, they might have put a full stop to our little army; for the river is large and deep, the country on the left marshy, full of drains and ditches, and unfit for horse, and we must have either turned back, or took the right hand into Bedfordshire; but here not being above four hundred foot, and they forsaken of their horse, the resistance they made was to no other purpose than to give us occasion to knock them on the head, and plunder the town.

However, they defended the bridge, as I have said, and opposed our passage. I was this day in the van, and our forlorn having entered Huntingdon, without any great resistance, till they came to the bridge, finding it barricaded, they sent me word; I caused the troops to halt, and rode up to the forlorn, to view the countenance of the enemy, and found by the posture they had put themselves in, that they resolved to sell us the passage as dear as they could.

I sent to the king for some dragoons, and gave him account of what I observed of the enemy, and that I judged them to be a thousand men; for I could not particularly see their numbers. Accordingly, the king ordered five hundred dragoons to attack the bridge, commanded by a major; the enemy had two hundred musketeers placed on the bridge, their barricade served them for a breastwork on the front, and the low walls on the bridge served to secure their flanks; two bodies of their foot were placed on the opposite banks of the river, and a reserve stood on the highway on the rear. The number of their men could not have been better ordered, and they wanted not courage answerable to the conduct of the party. They were commanded

by one Bennet, a resolute officer, who stood in the front of his men on the bridge with a pike in his hand.

Before we began to fall on, the king ordered to view the river, to see if it was nowhere passable, or any boat to be had; but the river being not fordable, and the boats all secured on the other side, the attack was resolved on, and the dragoons fell on with extraordinary bravery. The foot defended themselves obstinately, and beat off our dragoons twice; and though Bennet was killed upon the spot, and after him his lieutenant, yet their officers relieving them with fresh men, they would certainly have beat us all off, had not a venturesome fellow, one of our dragoons, thrown himself into the river, swam over, and, in the midst of a shower of musket-bullets, cut the rope which tied a great flat-bottomed boat, and brought her over. With the help of this boat, I got over a hundred troopers first, and then their horses, and then two hundred more without their horses; and with this party fell in with one of the small bodies of foot that were posted on that side, and having routed them, and, after them, the reserve which stood in the road, I made up to the other party; they stood their ground, and having rallied the runaways of both the other parties, charged me with their pikes, and brought me to a retreat; but by this time the king had sent over three hundred men more, and they coming up to me, the foot retreated. Those on the bridge finding how it was, and having no supplies sent them, as before, fainted, and fled; and the dragoons rushing forward, most of them were killed; about a hundred and fifty of the enemy were killed, of which all the officers at the bridge, the rest ran away.

The town suffered for it; for our men left them little of anything they could carry. Here we halted, and raised contributions, took money of the country, and of the open towns, to exempt them from plunder. Twice we faced the town of Cambridge, and several of our officers advised his

majesty to storm it; but having no foot, and but twelve hundred dragoons, wiser heads diverted him from it; and leaving Cambridge on the left, we marched to Woburn, in Bedfordshire, and our parties raised money over all the county, quite into Hertfordshire, within five miles of St. Albans.

The swiftness of our march, and uncertainty which way we intended, prevented all possible preparation to oppose us, and we met with no party able to make head against us. From Woburn, the king went through Buckingham to Oxford; some of our men straggling in the villages for plunder, were often picked up by the enemy; but in all this long march, we did not lose two hundred men, got an incredible booty, and brought six waggons loaden with money, besides two thousand horses, and three thousand head of cattle, into Oxford.

From Oxford his majesty moves again into Gloucestershire, having left about fifteen hundred of his horse at Oxford, to scour the country, and raise contributions, which they did as far as Reading.

Sir Thomas Fairfax was returned from taking Bridgewater, and was sat down before Bristol, in which Prince Rupert commanded, with a strong garrison, two thousand five hundred foot, and one thousand horse. We had not force enough to attempt anything there; but the Scots, who lay still before Hereford, were afraid of us, having before parted with all their horse under Lieutenant-General Lesly, and but ill stored with provisions; and, if we came on their backs, were in a fair way to be starved, or made to buy their provisions at the price of their blood.

His majesty was sensible of this, and had we had but ten regiments of foot, would certainly have fought the Scots; but we had no foot, or so few as not worth while to march them. However, the king marched to Worcester, and the Scots apprehending they should be blocked up, immediately

raised the siege, pretending it was to go to help their brethren in Scotland, and away they marched northwards.

We picked up some of their stragglers, but they were so poor, had been so ill paid, and so harassed at the siege, that they had neither money nor clothes; and the poor soldiers fed upon apples and roots, and ate the very green corn as it grew in the fields, which reduced them to a very sorry condition of health, for they died like people infected with the plague.

It was now debated whether we should yet march for Scotland, but two things prevented. 1. The plague was broke out there, and multitudes died of it, which made the king backward, and the men more backward. 2. The Marquis of Montrose having routed a whole brigade of Lesly's best horse, and carried all before him, wrote to his majesty that he did not now want assistance, but was in hopes in a few days to send a body of foot into England, to his majesty's assistance. This over confidence of his was his ruin; for, on the contrary, had he earnestly pressed the king to have marched, and fallen in with his horse, the king had done it, and been absolutely master of Scotland in a fortnight's time; but Montrose was too confident, and defied them all, till at last they got their forces together, and Lesly, with his horse out of England, and worsted him in two or three encounters, and then never left him till they drove him out of Scotland.

While his majesty stayed at Worcester several messengers came to him from Cheshire for relief, being exceedingly straitened by the forces of the parliament; in order to which, the king marched; but Shrewsbury being in the enemy's hands, he was obliged to go round by Ludlow, where he was joined by some foot out of Wales. I took this opportunity to ask his majesty's leave to go by Shrewsbury to my father's, and taking only two servants, I left the army two days before they marched.

This was the most unsoldier-like action that ever I was guilty of, to go out of the army to pay a visit, when a time of action was just at hand ; and, though I protest I had not the least intimation, no, not from my own thoughts, that the army would engage, at least before they came to Chester, before which I intended to meet them ; yet it looked so ill, so like an excuse, or a sham of cowardice, or disaffection to the cause, and to my master's interest, or something I know not what, that I could not bear to think of it, nor never had the heart to see the king's face after it.

From Ludlow the king marched to relieve Chester : Poyntz, who commanded the parliament's forces, follows the king, with design to join with the forces before Chester, under Colonel Jones, before the king could come up. To that end, Poyntz passes through Shrewsbury the day that the king marched from Ludlow ; yet the king's forces got the start of him, and forced him to engage. Had the king engaged him but three hours sooner, and consequently farther off from Chester, he had ruined him ; for Poyntz's men, not able to stand the shock of the king's horse, gave ground, and would in half an hour more have been beaten out of the field ; but Colonel Jones, with a strong party from the camp, which was within two miles, comes up in the heat of the action, falls on in the king's rear, and turned the scale of the day. The body was, after an obstinate fight, defeated, and a great many gentlemen of quality killed and taken prisoners ; the Earl of Lichfield was of the number of the former, and sixty-seven officers of the latter, with a thousand others.

The king, with about five hundred horse, got into Chester, and from thence into Wales, whither all that could get away made up to him as fast as they could, but in a bad condition.

This was the last stroke they struck ; the rest of the war was nothing but taking all his garrisons from him, one by one, till they finished the war with the captivating his person,

and then, for want of other business, fell to fighting with one another.

I was quite disconsolate at the news of this last action, and the more, because I was not there; my regiment was wholly dispersed, my lieutenant-colonel, a gentleman of a good family, and a near relation to my mother, was prisoner, my major and three captains killed, and most of the rest prisoners.

The king, hopeless of any considerable party in Wales, Bristol being surrendered, sends for Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, who came to him. With them, and the Lord Digby, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and a great train of gentlemen, his majesty marches to Newark again, leaves a thousand horse with Sir William Vaughan, to attempt the relief of Chester, in doing whereof he was routed the second time by Jones and his men, and entirely dispersed.

The chief strength the king had in these parts was Newark, and the parliament were very earnest with the Scots to march southward, and to lay siege to Newark; and while the parliament pressed them to it, and they sat still and delayed it, several heats began, and some ill blood between them, which afterwards broke out into open war. The English reproached the Scots with pretending to help them, and really hindering their affairs. The Scots returned, that they came to fight for them, and are left to be starved, and can neither get money nor clothes. At last they came to this: the Scots will come to the siege if the parliament will send them money, but not before. However, as people sooner agree in doing ill than in doing well, they came to terms, and the Scots came with their whole army to the siege of Newark.

The king, foreseeing the siege, calls his friends about him, tells them he sees his circumstances are such that they can help him but little, nor he protect them, and advises them to separate. The Lord Digby, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale,

with a strong body of horse, attempt to get into Scotland to join with Montrose, who was still in the Highlands, though reduced to a low ebb; but these gentlemen are fallen upon on every side and routed, and at last being totally broken and dispersed, they fly to the Earl of Derby's protection in the Isle of Man.

Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, Colonel Gerard, and above four hundred gentlemen, all officers of horse, lay their commissions down, and seizing upon Wootton-house for a retreat, make proposals to the parliament to leave the kingdom, upon their parole, not to return again in arms against the parliament, which was accepted, though afterwards the princes declined it. I sent my man post to the prince to be included in this treaty, and for leave for all that would accept of like conditions, but they had given in the list of their names, and could not alter it.

This was a sad time; the poor remains of the king's fortunes went everywhere to wreck; every garrison of the enemy was full of the cavalier prisoners, and every garrison the king had was beset with enemies, either blocked up or besieged. Goring and the Lord Hopton were the only remainder of the king's forces which kept in a body, and Fairfax was pushing them with all imaginable vigour with his whole army, about Exeter, and other parts of Devonshire and Cornwall.

In this condition the king left Newark in the night, and got to Oxford. The king had in Oxford eight thousand men; and in the towns of Banbury, Farrington, Dunnington Castle, and such places, as might have been brought together in twenty-four hours, fifteen or twenty thousand men, with which, if he had then resolved to have quitted the place, and collected the forces in Worcester, Hereford, Lichfield, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and all the small castles and garrisons he had thereabouts, he might have had near forty thousand men, might have beaten the Scots from Newark, Colonel Jones

from Chester, and all before Fairfax, who was in the west, could be able to come to their relief, and this his majesty's friends in North Wales had concerted; and, in order to it, Sir Jacob Ashby gathered what forces he could, in our parts, and attempted to join the king at Oxford, and to have proposed it to him; but Sir Jacob was entirely routed at Stow-on-the-Wold, and taken prisoner, and of three thousand men not above six hundred came to Oxford.

All the king's garrisons dropt one by one; Hereford, which had stood out against the whole army of the Scots, was surprised by six men and a lieutenant, dressed up for country labourers, and a constable pressed to work, who cut the guards in pieces, and let in a party of the enemy.

Chester was reduced by famine, all the attempts the king made to relieve it being frustrated.

Sir Thomas Fairfax routed the Lord Hopton at Torrington, and drove him to such extremities that he was forced up into the farthest corner of Cornwall. The Lord Hopton had a gallant body of horse with him of nine brigades, but no foot; Fairfax, a great army.

Heartless, and tired out with continual ill news and ill success, I had frequent meetings with some gentlemen, who had escaped from the rout of Sir William Vaughan, and we agreed upon a meeting at Worcester of all the friends we could get, to see if we could raise a body fit to do any service; or, if not, to consider what was to be done. At this meeting we had almost as many opinions as people; our strength appeared too weak to make any attempt, the game was too far gone in our parts to be retrieved; all we could make up did not amount to above eight hundred horse.

It was unanimously agreed not to go in to the parliament as long as our royal master did not give up the cause; but in all places, and by all possible methods, to do him all the service we could. Some proposed one thing, some another: at last we proposed getting vessels to carry us to the Isle of

Man, to the Earl of Derby, as Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Lord Digby, and others had done. I did not foresee any service it would be to the king's affairs, but I started a proposal, that, marching to Pembroke in a body, we should there seize upon all the vessels we could, and embarking ourselves, horses, and what foot we could get, cross the Severn sea, and land in Cornwall to the assistance of Prince Charles, who was in the army of the Lord Hopton; and where only there seemed to be any possibility of a chance for the remaining part of our cause.

This proposal was not without its difficulties, as how to get to the sea-side, and, when there, what assurance of shipping. The enemy, under Major-General Laughorn, had overrun Wales, and it would be next to impossible to effect it.

We could never carry our proposal with the whole assembly; but, however, about two hundred of us resolved to attempt it, and the meeting being broke up without coming to any conclusion, we had a private meeting among ourselves to effect it.

We despatched private messengers to Swansea and Pembroke, and other places, but they all discouraged us from the attempt that way, and advised us to go higher towards North Wales, where the king's interest had more friends, and the parliament no forces. Upon this we met, and resolved, and having sent several messengers that way, one of my men provided us two small vessels in a little creek near Harleigh Castle, in Merionethshire. We marched away with what expedition we could, and embarked in the two vessels accordingly. It was the worst voyage sure that ever man went; for, first, we had no manner of accommodation for so many people; hay for our horses we got none, or very little, but good store of oats, which served us for our own bread as well as provender for the horses.

In this condition we put off to sea, and had a fair wind

all the first night, but early in the morning a sudden storm drove us within two or three leagues of Ireland. In this pickle, sea-sick, our horses rolling about upon one another, and ourselves stifled for want of room, no cabins nor beds, very cold weather, and very indifferent diet, we wished ourselves ashore again a thousand times; and yet we were not willing to go on shore in Ireland if we could help it; for the rebels having possession of every place, that was just having our throats cut at once. Having rolled about at the mercy of the winds all day, the storm ceasing in the evening, we had fair weather again, but wind enough, which being large, in two days and a night we came upon the coast of Cornwall, and, to our no small comfort, landed the next day at St. Ives, in the county of Cornwall.

We rested ourselves here, and sent an express to the Lord Hopton, who was then in Devonshire, of our arrival, and desired him to assign us quarters, and send us his farther orders. His lordship expressed a very great satisfaction at our arrival, and left it to our own conduct to join him as we saw convenient.

We were marching to join him, when news came that Fairfax had given him an entire defeat at Torrington. This was but the old story over again; we had been used to ill news a great while, and it was the less surprise to us.

Upon this news we halted at Bodmin, till we should hear farther; and it was not long before we saw a confirmation of the news before our eyes; for the Lord Hopton, with the remainder of his horse, which he had brought off at Torrington in a very shattered condition, retreated to Launceston, the first town in Cornwall, and hearing that Fairfax pursued him, came on to Bodmin. Hither he summoned all the troops which he had left, which, when he had got together, were a fine body indeed of five thousand horse, but few foot but what were at Pendennis, Barnstaple, and other garrisons; these were commanded by the Lord Hopton; the Lord

Goring had taken shipping for France, to get relief, a few days before.

Here a grand council of war was called, and several things were proposed; but, as it always is in distress, people are most irresolute, so it was here. Some were for breaking through by force, our number being superior to the enemy's horse. To fight them with their foot would be desperation, and ridiculous; and to retreat would but be to coop up themselves in a narrow place, where, at last, they must be forced to fight upon disadvantage, or yield at mercy. Others opposed this as a desperate action, and without probability of success; and all were of different opinions. I confess, when I saw how things were, I saw it was a lost game, and I was for the opinion of breaking through and doing it now, while the country was open and large, and not being forced to it when it must be with more disadvantage; but nothing was resolved on, and so we retreated before the enemy. Some small skirmishes there happened near Bodmin, but none that were very considerable.

It was the first of March when we quitted Bodmin, and quartered at large at Columb, St. Denis, and Truro, and the enemy took his quarters at Bodmin, posting his horse at the passes from Padstow on the north, to Warbridge, Lestithel, and Foy, spreading so from sea to sea, that now breaking through was impossible. There was no more room for counsel; for, unless we had ships to carry us off, we had nothing to do but when we were fallen upon, to defend ourselves, and sell victory as dear as we could to the enemies.

The Prince of Wales, seeing the distress we were in, and loath to fall into the enemy's hands, ships himself on board some vessel at Falmouth, with about four hundred lords and gentlemen; and, as I had no command here to oblige my attendance, I was once going to make one; but my comrades, whom I had been the principal occasion of bringing hither, began to take it ill that I would leave them; and so I resolved we would take our fate together.

While thus we had nothing before us but a soldier's death, a fair field and a strong enemy, and people began to look one upon another; the soldiers asked how their officers looked, and the officers asked how their soldiers looked, and every day we expected to be our last, when, unexpectedly, the enemy's general sent a trumpet to Truro to my Lord Hopton, with a very handsome gentlemanlike offer.

That, since the general could not be ignorant of his present condition, and that the place he was in could not afford him subsistence or defence, and especially considering, that the state of our affairs was such that, if we should escape from thence, we could not remove to our advantage, he had thought good to let us know that, if we would deliver up our horses and arms, he would, for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood, or the putting any unsoldierly extremities upon us, allow such honourable and safe conditions as were rather better than our present circumstances could demand, and such as should discharge him to all the world as a gentleman, as a soldier, and as a Christian.

After this followed the conditions he would give us, which were as follow : viz., That all the soldiery, as well English as foreigners, should have liberty to go beyond the seas, or to their own dwellings, as they pleased; and to such as shall choose to live at home, protection for their liberty, and from all violence and plundering of soldiers, and to give them bag and baggage, and all their goods, except horses and arms.

That for officers in commissions, and gentlemen of quality; he would allow them horses for themselves and one servant, or more, suitable to their quality, and such arms as are suitable to gentlemen of such quality travelling in times of peace; and such officers as would go beyond sea, should take with them their full arms and number of horses as are allowed in the army to such officers.

That all the troopers shall receive, on the delivery of their horses, twenty shillings a man to carry them home;

and the general's pass and recommendation to any gentleman who desires to go to the parliament to settle the composition for their estates.

Lastly, a very honourable mention of the general, and offer of their mediation to the parliament, to treat him as a man of honour, and one who has been tender of the country, and behaved himself with all the moderation and candour that could be expected from an enemy.

Upon the unexpected receipt of this message, a council of war was called, and the letter read; no man offered to speak a word; the general moved it, but every one was loath to begin.

At last an old colonel starts up, and asked the general, what he thought might occasion the writing this letter? The general told him, he could not tell; but he could tell he was sure of one thing, that he knew what was not the occasion of it, viz., that is, not any want of force in their army to oblige us to other terms. Then a doubt was started whether the king and parliament were not in any treaty, which this agreement might be prejudicial to.

This occasioned a letter to my Lord Fairfax, wherein our general returning the civilities, and neither accepting nor refusing his proposal, put it upon his honour, whether there was not some agreement or concession between his majesty and the parliament, in order to a general peace, which this treaty might be prejudicial to, or thereby be prejudicial to us.

The Lord Fairfax ingenuously declared he had heard the king had made some concessions, and he heartily wished he would make such as would settle the kingdom in peace, that Englishmen might not wound and destroy one another; but that he declared he knew of no treaty commenced, nor anything passed, which could give us the least shadow of hope for any advantage in not accepting his conditions. At last, telling us, that though he did not insult over our

circumstances, yet, if we thought fit, upon any such supposition, to refuse his offers, he was not to seek in his measures.

And it appeared so, for he immediately advanced his forlorns, and dispossessed us of two advanced quarters, and thereby straitened us yet more.

We had now nothing to say, but treat, and our general was so sensible of our condition, that he returned the trumpet with a safe conduct for commissioners at twelve o'clock that night; upon which a cessation of arms was agreed on, we quitting Truro to the Lord Fairfax, and he left St. Albans to us to keep our head-quarters.

The conditions were soon agreed on; we disbanded nine full brigades of horse, and all the conditions were observed with the most honour and care by the enemy that ever I saw in my life.

Nor can I omit to make very honourable mention of this noble gentleman, though I did not like his cause; but I never saw a man of a more pleasant, calm, courteous, down-right honest behaviour in my life; and, for his courage and personal bravery in the field, that we had felt enough of. No man in the world had more fire and fury in him while in action, or more temper and softness out of it. In short, and I cannot do him greater honour, he came exceedingly near the character of my foreign hero Gustavus Adolphus, and in my account is, of all the soldiers in Europe, the fittest to be reckoned in the second place of honour to him.

I had particular occasion to see much of his temper in all this action, being one of the hostages given by our general for the performance of the conditions, in which circumstance the general did me several times the honour to send to me to dine with him; and was exceedingly pleased to discourse with me about the passages of the wars in Germany, which I had served in, he having been at the same time in the Low Countries, in the service of Prince Maurice; but if

observed, if at any time my civilities extended to commendations of his own actions, and especially to comparing him to Gustavus Adolphus, he would blush like a woman, and be uneasy, declining the discourse, and in this he was still more like him.

Let no man scruple my honourable mention of this noble enemy, since no man can suspect me of favouring the cause he embarked in, which I served as heartily against as any man in the army; but I cannot conceal extraordinary merit for its being placed in an enemy.

This was the end of our making war; for now we were all under parole never to bear arms against the parliament; and though some of us did not keep our word, yet I think a soldier's parole ought to be the most sacred in such case, that a soldier may be the easier trusted at all times upon his word.

For my part, I went home fully contented, since I could do my royal master no better service, that I had come off no worse.

The enemy going now on in a full current of success, and the king reduced to the last extremity, and Fairfax, by long marches, being come back within five miles of Oxford, his majesty, loath to be cooped up in a town which could on no account hold long out, quits the town in a disguise, leaving Sir Thomas Glenham governor, and being only attended with Mr. Ashburnham and one more, rides away to Newark, and there fatally committed himself to the honour and fidelity of the Scots, under General Leven.

There had been some little bickering between the parliament and the Scots' commissioners, concerning the propositions which the Scots were for a treaty with the king upon, and the parliament refused it. The parliament, upon all proposals of peace, had formerly invited the king to come and throw himself upon the honour, fidelity, and affection of his parliament; and now the king from Oxford offering

to come up to London, on the protection of the parliament for the safety of his person, they refused him, and the Scots differed from them in it, and were for a personal treaty.

This, in our opinion, was the reason which prompted the king to throw himself upon the fidelity of the Scots, who really by their infidelity had been the ruin of all his affairs, and now, by their perfidious breach of honour and faith with him, will be virtually and mediately the ruin of his person.

The Scots were, as all the nation besides them was, surprised at the king's coming among them: the parliament began very high with him, and sent an order to General Leven to send the king to Warwick Castle; but he was not so hasty to part with so rich a prize. As soon as the king came to the general, he signs an order to Colonel Bellasis, the governor of Newark, to surrender it, and immediately the Scots decamp homewards, carrying the king in the camp with them; and, marching on, a house was ordered to be provided for the king at Newcastle.

And now the parliament saw their error, in refusing his majesty a personal treaty, which, if they had accepted (their army was not yet taught the way of huffing their masters), the kingdom might have been settled in peace. Upon this the parliament send to General Leven to have his majesty, not to be sent, which was their first language, but be suffered to come to London, to treat with his parliament: before it was, Let the king be sent to Warwick Castle; now, it is, to Let his majesty come to London to treat with his people.

But neither one or the other would do with the Scots: but we, who knew the Scots best, knew that there was one thing would do with them if the other would not, and that was money; and therefore our hearts ached for the king.

The Scots, as I said, had retreated to Newcastle with the king, and there they quartered their whole army at large

upon the country; the parliament voted they had no farther occasion for the Scots, and desired them to go home about their business. I do not say it was in these words, but in whatsoever good words their messages might be expressed, this and nothing less was the English of it. The Scots reply, by setting forth their losses, damages, and dues, the substance of which was, Pay us our money, and we will be gone, or else we won't stir. The parliament call for an account of their demands, which the Scots give in, amounting to a million; but, according to their custom, and especially finding that the army under Fairfax inclined gradually that way, fall down to 500,000*l.* and at last to four; but all the while this is transacting, a separate treaty is carried on at London with the commissioners of Scotland, and afterwards at Edinburgh, by which it is given them to understand, that whereas, upon payment of the money, the Scots' army is to march out of England, and to give up all the towns and garrisons which they hold in this kingdom, so they are to take it for granted, that it is the meaning of the treaty, that they shall leave the king in the hands of the English parliament.

To make this go down the better, the Scotch parliament, upon his majesty's desire to go with their army into Scotland, send him for answer, that it cannot be for the safety of his majesty or of the state to come into Scotland, not having taken the covenant; and this was carried in their parliament but by two voices.

The Scots having refused his coming into Scotland, as was concerted between the two houses, and their army being to march out of England, the delivering up the king became a consequence of the thing unavoidable, and of necessity.

His majesty, thus deserted of those into whose hands he had thrown himself, took his leave of the Scots' general at Newcastle, telling him only, in few words, this sad truth,

that he was bought and sold. The parliament commissioners received him at Newcastle from the Scots, and brought him to Holmby-house, in Northamptonshire; from whence, upon the quarrels and feuds of parties, he was fetched by a party of horse, commanded by one Cornet Joyce, from the army, upon their mutinous rendezvous at Triplo-wheat; and after this, suffering many violences, and varieties of circumstances among the army, was carried to Hampton-Court, from whence his majesty very readily made his escape; but not having notice enough to provide effectual means for his more effectual deliverance, was obliged to deliver himself to Colonel Hammond in the Isle of Wight. Here, after some very indifferent usage, the parliament pursued a farther treaty with him, and all points were agreed but two: The entire abolishing episcopacy, which the king declared to be against his conscience and his coronation oath, and the sale of the church lands, which he declared, being most of them gifts to God and the church, by persons deceased, his majesty thought could not be alienated without the highest sacrilege, and, if taken from the uses to which they were appointed by the wills of the donors, ought to be restored back to the heirs and families of the persons who bequeathed them.

And these two articles so stuck with his majesty, that he ventured his fortune and royal family, and his own life, for them: however, at last, the king condescended so far in these, that the parliament voted his majesty's concessions to be sufficient to settle and establish the peace of the nation.

This vote discovered the bottom of all the counsels which then prevailed; for the army, who knew, if peace were once settled, they should be undone, took the alarm at this, and, clubbing together in committees and councils, at last brought themselves to a degree of hardness above all that ever this nation saw; for calling into question the proceed-

ings of their masters who employed them, they immediately fall to work upon the parliament, remove Colonel Hammond, who had the charge of the king, and used him honourably, place a new guard upon him, dismiss the commissioners, and put a stop to the treaty; and, following their blow, march to London, place regiments of foot at the parliament-house door, and as the members came up, seize upon all those whom they had down in a list as promoters of the settlement and treaty, and would not suffer them to sit; but the rest, who being of their own stamp, are permitted to go on, carry on the designs of the army, revive their votes of non-addresses to the king, and then, upon the army's petition, to bring all delinquents to justice, the mask was thrown off; by the word *all* is declared to be meant the king, as well as every man else they pleased. It is too sad a story, and too much a matter of grief to me, and to all good men, to renew the blackness of those days, when law and justice was under the feet of power; the army ruled the parliament, the private officers their generals, the common soldiers their officers, and confusion was in every part of the government. In this hurry they sacrificed their king, and shed the blood of the English nobility without mercy.

The history of the times will supply the particulars which I omit, being willing to confine myself to my own accounts and observations: I was now no more an actor, but a melancholy observer of the misfortunes of the times. I had given my parole not to take up arms against the parliament, and I saw nothing to invite me to engage on their side; I saw a world of confusion in all their counsels, and I always expected that in a chain of distractions, as it generally falls out, the last link would be destruction; and though I pretended to no prophecy, yet the progress of affairs have brought it to pass, and I have seen Providence, who suffered, for the correction of this nation, the sword to govern and

devour us, has at last brought destruction by the sword, upon the head of most of the party who first drew it.

If, together with the brief account of what concern I had in the active part of the war, I leave behind me some of my own remarks and observations, it may be pertinent enough to my design, and not unuseful to posterity.

1. I observed, by the sequel of things, that it may be some excuse to the first parliament, who began this war, to say that they manifested their designs were not aimed at the monarchy, nor their quarrel at the person of the king; because, when they had him in their power, though against his will, they would have restored both his person and dignity as a king, only loading it with such clogs of the people's power as they at first pretended to, viz., the militia, and power of naming the great officers at court, and the like; which powers, it was never denied, had been stretched too far in the beginning of this king's reign, and several things done illegally, which his majesty had been sensible of, and was willing to rectify; but they having obtained the power by victory, resolved so to secure themselves, as that, whenever they laid down their arms, the king should not be able to do the like again; and thus far they were not to be so much blamed, and we did not, on our own part, blame them, when they had obtained the power, for parting with it on good terms.

But when I have thus far advocated for the enemies, I must be very free to state the crimes of this bloody war, by the events of it. It is manifest there were among them, from the beginning, a party who aimed at the very root of the government, and at the very thing which they brought to pass, viz., the deposing and murdering of their sovereign; and, as the devil is always master where mischief is the work, this party prevailed, turned the other out of doors, and overturned all that little honesty that might be in the first beginning of this unhappy strife. •

The consequence of this was, the presbyterians saw their error when it was too late, and then would gladly have joined the royal party, to have suppressed this new leaven, which had infected the lump; and this is very remarkable, that most of the first champions of this war, who bore the brunt of it when the king was powerful and prosperous, and when there was nothing to be got by it but blows, first or last, were so ill used by this independent powerful party, who tripped up the heels of all their honesty, that they were either forced by ill treatment to take up arms on our side, or suppressed and reduced by them. In this the justice of Providence seemed very conspicuous, that these having pushed all things by violence against the king, and by arms and force brought him to their will, were at once both robbed of the end, their church-government, and punished for drawing their swords against their masters, by their own servants drawing the sword against them; and God, in his due time, punished the others too; and, what was yet farther strange, the punishment of this crime of making war against their king, singled out those very men, both in the army and in the parliament, who were the greatest champions of the presbyterian cause in the council and in the field.

In all these confusions I have observed two great errors, one of the king, and one of his friends.

Of the king, that, when he was in their custody, and at their mercy, he did not comply with their propositions of peace, before their army, for want of employment, fell into heats and mutinies; that he did not at first grant the Scots their own conditions, which, if he had done, he had gone into Scotland; and then, if the English would have fought the Scots for him, he had a reserve of his royal friends, who would have had room to have fallen in with the Scots to his assistance, who were after dispersed and destroyed in small parties attempting to serve him.

While his Majesty remained at Newcastle, the queen

wrote to him, persuading him to make peace upon any terms; and, in politics, her majesty's advice was certainly the best; for, however low he was brought by a peace, it must have been better than the condition he was then in.

The error I mention of the king's friends was this, that, after they saw all was lost, they could not be content to sit still, and reserve themselves for better fortunes, and wait the happy time when the divisions of the enemy would bring them to certain ruin; but must hasten their own miseries by frequent fruitless risings, in the face of a victorious enemy, in small parties; and I always found these effects from it:

1. The enemy, who were always together by the ears, when they were let alone, were united and reconciled when we gave them any interruption; as, particularly, in the case of the first assault the army made upon them, when Colonel Pride, with his regiment, garbled the house, as they called it: at that time, a fair opportunity offered, but it was omitted till it was too late. That insult upon the house had been attempted the year before, but was hindered by the little insurrections of the royal party, and the sooner they had fallen out the better.

2. These risings being desperate, with vast disadvantages, and always suppressed, ruined all our friends; the remnants of the cavaliers were lessened, the stoutest and most daring were cut off, and the king's interest exceedingly weakened, there not being less than thirty thousand of his best friends cut off in the several attempts made at Maidstone, Colchester, Lancashire, Pembroke, Pontefract, Kingston, Preston, Warrington, Worcester, and other places. Had these men all reserved their fortunes to a conjunction with the Scots, at either of the invasions they made into this kingdom, and acted with the conduct and courage they were known masters of, perhaps neither of those Scots' armies had been defeated.

But the impatience of our friends ruined all ; for my part, I had as good a mind to put my hand to the ruin of the enemy as any of them ; but I never saw any tolerable appearance of a force able to match the enemy, and I had no mind to be beaten and then hanged. Had we let them alone, they would have fallen into so many parties and factions, and so effectually have torn one another to pieces, that whichever party had come to us, we should, with them, have been too hard for all the rest.

This was plain by the course of things afterwards, when the independent army had ruffled the presbyterian parliament, the soldiery of that party made no scruple to join us, and would have restored the king with all their hearts ; and many of them did join us at last.

And the consequence, though late, ended so, for they fell out so many times, army and parliament, parliament and army, and alternately pulled one another down so often, till at last the presbyterians, who began the war, ended it ; and, to be rid of their enemies, rather than for any love to the monarchy, restored King Charles the Second, and brought him in on the very day that they themselves had formerly resolved the ruin of his father's government, being the 29th of May, the same day twenty years that the private cabal in London concluded their secret league with the Scots, to embroil his father King Charles the First.

LIFE, ADVENTURES, AND PIRACIES

OF

CAPTAIN SINGLETON.

As it is usual for great persons, whose lives have been remarkable, and whose actions deserve recording to posterity, to insist much upon their originals, give full accounts of their families, and the histories of their ancestors; so, that I may be methodical, I shall do the same, though I can look but a very little way into my pedigree, as you will see presently.

If I may believe the woman whom I was taught to call mother, I was a little boy, of about two years old, very well dressed, had a nursery-maid to attend me, who took me out on a fine summer's evening into the fields towards Islington, as she pretended, to give the child some air; a little girl being with her, of twelve or fourteen years old, that lived in the neighbourhood. The maid, whether by appointment or otherwise, meets with a fellow, her sweetheart, as I suppose; he carries her into a public-house to give her a pot and a cake; and while they were talking in the house, the girl plays about, with me in her hand, in the garden and at the door, sometimes in sight, sometimes out of sight, thinking no harm.

At this juncture comes by one of those sort of people who, it seems, made it their business to spirit away little children. This was an atrocious trade in those days, and chiefly practised where they found little children, very well dressed, or for bigger children, to sell them to the plantations.

The woman, pretending to take me up in her arms and kiss me, and play with me, draws the girl a good way from the house, till at last she makes a fine story to the girl, and bids her go back to the maid, and tell her where she was with the child; that a gentlewoman had taken a fancy to the child, and was kissing of it, but she should not be frightened, or to that purpose; for they were but just there; and so, while the girl went, she carried me quite away.

From this time, it seems, I was disposed of to a beggar woman that wanted a pretty little child to set out her case; and, after that, to a gipsey, under whose government I continued till I was about six years old; and this woman, though I was continually dragged about with her from one part of the country to another, yet never let me want for anything; and I called her mother, though she told me at last she was not my mother, but that she bought me for twelve shillings of another woman, who told her how she came by me, and told her that my name was Bob Singleton, not Robert, but plain Bob; for it seems they never knew by what name I was christened.

It is in vain to reflect here, what a terrible fright the careless hussy was in, that lost me; what treatment she received from my justly-enraged father and mother, and the horror these must be in at the thoughts of their child being thus carried away; for, as I never knew anything of the matter, but just what I have related, nor who my father and mother were, so it would make but a needless digression to talk of it here.

My good gipsey mother, for some of her worthy actions,

no doubt, happened in process of time to be hanged ; and, as this fell out something too soon for me to be perfected in the strolling trade, the parish where I was left, which, for my life, I cannot remember, took some care of me to be sure ; for the first thing I can remember of myself afterwards, was, that I went to a parish school, and the minister of the parish used to talk to me to be a good boy ; and that, though I was but a poor boy, if I minded my book, and served God, I might make a good man.

I believe I was frequently removed from one town to another, perhaps as the parishes disputed my supposed mother's last settlement. Whether I was so shifted by passes, or otherwise, I know not ; but the town where I was last kept, whatever its name was, must not be far off from the sea-side ; for a master of a ship, who took a fancy to me, was the first that brought me to a place not far from Southampton, which I afterwards knew to be Bussleton ; and there I attended the carpenters, and such people as were employed in building a ship for him ; and when it was done, though I was not above twelve years old, he carried me to sea with him, on a voyage to Newfoundland.

I lived well enough, and pleased my master so well, that he called me his own boy, and I would have called him father, but he would not allow it, for he had children of his own. I went three or four voyages with him, and grew a sturdy boy, when, coming home again from the banks of Newfoundland, we were taken by an Algerine rover, or man of war : which, if my account stands right, was about the year 1675, for you may be sure I kept no journal.

I was not much concerned at the disaster, though I saw my master, after having been wounded by a splinter in the head during the engagement, very barbarously used by the Turks ; I say, I was not much concerned, till, upon some unlucky thing I said, which, as I remember, was about abusing my master, they took me and beat me most un-

mercifully with a flat stick on the soles of my feet, so that I could neither go or stand for several days together.

But my good fortune was my friend upon this occasion; for, as they were sailing away with our ship in tow as a prize, steering for the straits, and in sight of the bay of Cadiz, the Turkish rover was attacked by two great Portuguese men of war, and taken and carried into Lisbon.

As I was not much concerned at my captivity, not indeed understanding the consequences of it, if it had continued; so I was not suitably sensible of my deliverance; nor indeed was it so much a deliverance, to me, as it would otherwise have been: for my master who was the only friend I had in the world, died at Lisbon of his wounds; and I being then almost reduced to my primitive state, viz., of starving, had this addition to it, that it was in a foreign country too, where I knew nobody, and could not speak a word of their language. However, I fared better here than I had reason to expect; for, when all the rest of our men had their liberty to go where they would, I, that knew not whither to go, stayed in the ship for several days, till at length one of the lieutenants seeing me, inquired what that young English dog did there, and why they did not turn him on shore.

I heard him, and partly understood what he meant, though not what he said, and began then to be in a terrible fright; for I knew not where to get a bit of bread; when the pilot of the ship, an old scaman, seeing me look very dull, came to me, and speaking broken English to me, told me, I must be gone. "Whither must I go?" said I. "Where you will," said he, "home to your own country, if you will." "How must I go thither?" said I. "Why, have you no friend?" said he. "No," said I, "not in the world, but that dog, pointing to the ship's dog (who, having stolen a piece of meat, just before, had brought it close by me, and

I had taken it from him, and eaten it,) for he has been a good friend, and brought me my dinner."

"Well, well," says he, "you must have your dinner:" "Will you go with me?" "Yes," says I, "with all my heart." In short, the old pilot took me home with him, and used me tolerably well, though I fared hard enough; and I lived with him about two years, during which time he was soliciting his business, and at length got to be master or pilot under Don Garcia de Pimentesia de Carravallas, captain of a Portuguese galleon, or carrack, which was bound to Goa, in the East Indies; and immediately having gotten his commission, put me on board to look after his cabin, in which he had stored himself with abundance of liquors, succades, sugar, spices, and other things for his accommodation in the voyage, and laid in afterwards a considerable quantity of European goods, fine lace, and linen; and also baize, woollen cloth, stuffs, &c., under the pretence of his clothes.

I was too young in the trade to keep any journal of this voyage, though my master, who was, for a Portuguese, a pretty good artist, prompted me to it: but my not understanding the language, was one hindrance; at least, it served me for an excuse. However, after some time, I began to look into his charts and books; and, as I could write a tolerable hand, understood some Latin, and began to have a smattering of the Portuguese tongue, so I began to get a little superficial knowledge of navigation, but not such as was likely to be sufficient to carry me through a life of adventure, as mine was to be. In short, I learned several material things in this voyage among the Portuguese; I learnt particularly to be an arrant thief and a bad sailor; and I think I may say they are the best masters, for teaching both these, of any nation in the world.

My master had consented that I should assist the captain in the office, as above; but, as I understood afterwards,

that the captain allowed my master half a moidore a month for my service, and that he had my name upon the ship's books also, I expected that, when the ship came to be paid four months' wages at the Indies, as they, it seems, always do, my master would let me have something for myself.

But I was wrong in my man, for he was none of that kind : he had taken me up as in distress, and his business was to keep me so, and make his market of me as well as he could : which I began to think of after a different manner than I did at first ; for at first I thought he had entertained me in mere charity, upon seeing my distressed circumstances, but did not doubt, but when he put me on board the ship, I should have some wages for my service.

But he thought, it seems, quite otherwise ; and when I procured one to speak to him about it, when the ship was paid at Goa, he flew into the greatest rage imaginable, and called me English dog, young heretic, and threatened to put me into the inquisition. Indeed, of all the names the four and twenty letters could make up, he should not have called me heretic ; for, as I knew nothing about religion, neither protestant from papist, or either of them from a Mahometan, I could never be a heretic. However, it passed but a little, but, as young as I was, I had been carried into the inquisition ; and, there, if they had asked me if I was a protestant or a catholic, I should have said yes to that which came first. If it had been the protestant they had asked first, it had certainly made a martyr of me for I did not know what.

But the very priest they carried with them, or chaplain of the ship, as we call him, saved me : for, seeing me a boy entirely ignorant of religion, and ready to do or say anything they bid me, he asked me some questions about it, which he found I answered so very simply, that he took it upon him to tell them, he would answer for my being a good catholic ; and he hoped he should be the means of saving

my soul; and he pleased himself that it was to be a work of merit to him; so he made me as good a papist as any of them in about a week's time.

I then told him my case about my master; how, it is true, he had taken me up in a miserable case, on board a man-of-war, at Lisbon; and I was indebted to him for bringing me on board this ship; that, if I had been left at Lisbon, I might have starved and the like; and therefore I was willing to serve him; but that I hoped he would give me some little consideration for my service, or let me know how long he expected I should serve him for nothing. It was all one; neither the priest or any one else could prevail with him, but that I was not his servant but his slave.

And now I resolved from that time to run away from him if I could, but there was no doing of it there; for there were not ships of any nation in the world in that port, except two or three Persian vessels from Ormus; so that if I had offered to go away from him, he would have had me seized on shore, and brought on board by force: so that I had no remedy but patience, and this he brought to an end too as soon as he could; for after this he began to use me ill, and not only to straiten my provisions, but to beat and torture me in a barbarous manner for every trifle; so that, in a word, my life began to be very miserable.

The violence of this usage of me, and the impossibility of my escape from his hands, set my head a-working upon all sorts of mischief; and, in particular, I resolved, after studying all other ways to deliver myself, and finding all ineffectual, I say, I resolved to murder him. With this atrocious resolution in my head, I spent whole nights and days contriving how to put it in execution, the devil prompting me very warmly to the fact. I was indeed entirely at a loss for the means; for I had neither gun or sword, nor any weapon to assault him with. Poison I had my thoughts much upon, but knew not where to get any;

or, if I might have got it, I did not know the country word for it, or by what name to ask for it.

In this manner I was guilty of the fact intentionally a hundred and a hundred times; but Providence, either for his sake or for mine, always frustrated my designs, and I could never bring it to pass: so I was obliged to continue in his chains till the ship, having taken in her loading, set sail for Portugal.

I can say nothing here to the manner of our voyage; for as I said, I kept no journal; but this I can give an account of, that, having been once as high as the Cape of Good Hope, as we call it, or Cabo de Bona Speranza, as they call it, we were driven back again by a violent storm from the W.S.W., which held us six days and nights a great way to the eastward; and after that running afore the wind for several days more, we at last came to an anchor on the coast of Madagascar.

The storm had been so violent that the ship had received a great deal of damage, and it required some time to repair her; so, standing in nearer the shore, the pilot, my master, brought the ship into a very good road, where we rid in twenty-six fathom water, about half-a-mile from the shore.

While the ship rode here, there happened a most desperate mutiny among the men, upon account of some deficiency in their allowance, which came to that height that they threatened the captain to set him on shore, and go back with the ship to Goa. I wished they would with all my heart, for I was full of mischief in my head, and ready enough to do any. So, though I was but a boy, as they called me, yet I prompted the mischief all I could, and embarked in it so openly, that I escaped very little being hanged in the first and most early part of my life; for the captain had some notice that there was a design laid by some of the company to murder him; and having, partly by money and promises, and partly by threatening

and torture, brought two fellows to confess the particulars and the names of the persons concerned, they were presently apprehended, till, one accusing another, no less than sixteen men were seized and put into irons, whereof I was one.

The captain, who was made desperate by his danger, resolving to clear the ship of his enemies, tried us all, and we were all condemned to die. The manner of his process I was too young to take notice of; but the purser and one of the gunners were hanged immediately, and I expected it with the rest. I do not remember any great concern I was under about it, only that I cried very much; for I knew little then of this world, and nothing at all of the next.

However, the captain contented himself with executing these two; and some of the rest, upon their humble submission, and promise of future good behaviour, were pardoned; but five were ordered to be set on shore on the island, and left there, of which I was one.

I was but a young fellow about seventeen or eighteen; but hearing what was to be my fate, I received it with no appearance of discouragement; but I asked what my master said to it, and being told that he had used his utmost interest to save me, but the captain had answered I should either go on shore or be hanged on board, which he pleased. I then gave over all hope of being received again. I was not very thankful in my thoughts to my master for his soliciting the captain for me, because I knew that what he did was not in kindness to me so much as in kindness to himself; I mean to preserve the wages which he got for me, which amounted to about six dollars a month, including what the captain allowed him for my particular service to him.

When I understood that my master was so apparently kind, I asked if I might not be admitted to speak with him, and they told me I might, if my master would come down to me, but I could not be allowed to come up to him; so,

then I desired my master might be told to come to me, and he accordingly came to me ; I fell on my knees to him, and begged he would forgive me what I had done to displease him ; and indeed the resolution I had taken to murder him lay with some horror upon my mind just at that time, so that I was once just a-going to confess it, and beg him to forgive me, but I kept it in : he said he had done all he could to obtain my pardon of the captain, but could not : and he knew no way for me but to have patience, and submit to my fate ; and if they came to speak with any ship of their nation at the Cape, he would endeavour to have them stand in, and fetch us off again if we might be found.

Then I begged I might have my clothes on shore with me. He told me he was afraid I should have little need of clothes, for he did not see how we could long subsist on the island, and that he had been informed that the inhabitants were cannibals or men-eaters (though he had no reason for that suggestion), and we should not be able to live among them ; I told him I was not so afraid of that, as I was of starving for want of victuals ; and as for the inhabitants being cannibals, I believed we should be more likely to eat them, than they us, if we could but get at them : but I was mightily concerned, I said, we should have no weapons with us to defend ourselves, and I begged nothing now, but that he would give me a gun and a sword with a little powder and shot.

He smiled and said, they would signify nothing to us, for it was impossible for us to pretend to preserve our lives among such a populous and desperate nation as the people of the island were. I told him that, however, it would do us this good, for we should not be devoured or destroyed immediately ; so I begged hard for the gun. At last he told me, he did not know whether the captain would give him leave to give me a gun, and if not, he durst not do it ; but he

promised to use his interest to obtain it for me, which he did, and the next day he sent me a gun, with some ammunition, but told me, the captain would not suffer the ammunition to be given us, till we were set all on shore, and till he was just going to set sail. He also sent me the few clothes I had in the ship, which indeed were not many.

Two days after this we were all carried on shore together; the rest of my fellow-criminals hearing I had a gun and some powder and shot, solicited for liberty to carry the like with them, which was also granted them; and thus we were set on shore to shift for ourselves.

At our first coming into the island, we were terrified exceedingly with the sight of the barbarous people; whose figure was made more terrible to us than really it was, by the report we had of them from the seamen; but when we came to converse with them awhile, we found they were not cannibals, as was reported, or such as would fall immediately upon us and eat us up.

However, we found them barbarous, treacherous, and villanous enough in their nature, only civil for fear, and therefore concluded we should soon fall into their hands when the ship was gone.

The sense of this wrought upon my fellow-sufferers even to distraction; and one of them being a carpenter, in his mad fit, swam off to the ship in the night, though she lay then a league to sea, and made such pitiful mean to be taken in that the captain was prevailed with at last to take him in, though they let him lie swimming three hours in the water before he consented to it.

Upon this and his humble submission, the captain received him, and, in a word, the importunity of this man (who for some time petitioned to be taken in, though they hanged him as soon as they had him), was such as could not be resisted; for, after he had swam so long about the ship, he was not able to have reached the shore again; and

the captain saw evidently, that the man must be taken on board, or suffered to drown, and the whole ship's company offering to be bound for him for his good behaviour, the captain at last yielded, and he was taken up, but almost dead with his being so long in the water.

When this man was got in, he never left off importuning the captain, and all the rest of the officers, in behalf of us that were behind ; but to the very last day the captain was inexorable ; when, at the time their preparations were making to sail, and orders given to hoist the boats into the ship, all the seamen in a body came up to the rail of the quarter-deck, where the captain was walking with some of his officers, and appointing the boatswain to speak for them, he went up, and falling on his knees to the captain begged of him, in the humblest manner possible, to receive the four men on board again, offering to answer for their fidelity, or to have them kept in chains till they came to Lisbon, and there to be delivered up to justice, rather than, as they said, to have them left to be murdered by savages, or devoured by wild beasts. It was a great while ere the captain took any notice of them, but when he did, he ordered the boatswain to be seized, and threatened to bring him to the capstan for speaking for them.

Upon this severity, one of the seamen, bolder than the rest, but still with all possible respect to the captain, besought his honour, as he called him, that he would give leave to some more of them to go on shore, and die with their companions, or, if possible, to assist them to resist the barbarians. The captain, rather provoked than cowed with this, came to the barricado of the quarter-deck, and speaking very prudently to the men (for, had he spoken roughly, two-thirds of them would have left the ship, if not all of them), he told them, it was for their safety as well as his own, that he had been obliged to that severity ; and that, though he did not know that he deserved so ill of any of them, as that they should

leave the ship rather than do their duty, yet if any of them were resolved to do so, unless he would consent to take a gang of traitors on board, who, as he had proved before them all, had conspired to murder him, he would not hinder them, nor, for the present, would he resent their importunity; but, if there was nobody left in the ship but himself, he would never consent to take them on board.

The same night twenty-three of the men, among whom was the gunner's mate, the surgeon's assistant, and two carpenters, applying to the chief mate, told him, that, as the captain had given them leave to go on shore to their comrades, they begged that he would speak to the captain not to take it ill that they were desirous to go and die with their companions; and that they thought they could do no less in such an extremity, than go to them.

Accordingly, an hour before day, those twenty-three men, with every man a firelock and cutlass, with some pistols, three halberts or half-pikes, and good store of powder and ball, without any provision but about half a hundred of bread, but with all their chests and clothes, tools, instruments, books, &c., embarked themselves so silently, that the captain got no notice of it till they were gotten half the way on shore.

We were now a good troop, being in all twenty-seven men, very well armed, and provided with everything but victuals; we had two carpenters among us, a gunner, and, which was worth all the rest, a surgeon or doctor, that is to say, he was an assistant to a surgeon at Goa, and was entertained as a supernumerary with us. The carpenters had brought all their tools, the doctor all his instruments and medicines, and indeed we had a great deal of baggage, that is to say, in the whole, for some of us had little more than the clothes on our backs, of whom I was one; but I had one thing which none of them had, viz., I had twenty-two moidores of gold, which I stole from the captain some time before, and two pieces

of eight. The two pieces of eight I showed, and one moi-dore, but no more; and none of them ever suspected that I had any more money in the world, having been known to be only a poor boy taken up in charity, as you have heard, and used like a slave, and in the worst manner of a slave, by my cruel master the pilot.

We found the natives did not disturb or concern themselves much about us; nor did they inquire or perhaps know whether we stayed among them or not, much less that our ship was gone quite away, and had cast us off, as was our case; for the next morning after we had sent back the long-boat, which brought our comrades, the ship stood away to the south-east, and in four hours' time was out of our sight.

The next day, two of us went into the country one way, and two another, to see what kind of a land we were in; and we soon found the country was very pleasant and fruitful, and a convenient place to live in; but, as before, inhabited by a parcel of creatures scarce human, or capable of being made sociable on any account whatsoever.

We found the place full of cattle and provisions; but whether we might venture to take them where we could find them, or not, we did not know; and though we were under a necessity to get provisions, yet we were loath to bring down a whole nation of savages upon us at once, and, therefore, some of our company agreed to try to speak with some of the country, if we could, that we might see what course was to be taken with them. Eleven of our men went on this errand, well armed, and furnished for defence. They brought word, that they had seen some of the natives, who appeared very civil to them, but very shy and afraid, seeing their guns; for it was easy to perceive, that the natives knew what their guns were and what use they were of.

They made signs to the natives for some food, and they went and fetched several herbs and roots, and some milk;

but it was evident they did not design to give it away, but to sell it, making signs to know what our men would give them.

However, in a little time more, we found that the woods were full of living creatures which we might kill for our food and that without giving offence to them; so that our men went daily out a hunting, and never failed to kill something or other; for, as to the natives, we had no goods to barter, and for money, all the stock among us would not have subsisted us long; however, we called a general council to see what money we had, and to bring it all together, that it might go as far as possible; and when it came to my turn I pulled out a moidore and the two dollars I spoke of before.

This moidore I ventured to show, that they might not despise me too much for adding too little to the store, and that they might not pretend to search me; and they were very civil to me, upon the presumption that I had been so faithful to them as not to conceal anything from them.

But our money did us little service, for the people neither knew the value or the use of it, nor could they justly rate the gold in proportion with the silver; so that all our money, which was not much when it was all put together, would go but a little way with us, that is to say, to buy us provisions.

Our consultations concerning our escape from this place ended in this only, that as we had two carpenters among us, and that they had tools almost of all sorts with them, we should try to build us a boat to go off to sea with, and that then perhaps we might find our way back to Goa, or land on some more proper place to make our escape.

At length one of the company proposed, that, instead of building a barque or sloop, or shallop, or whatever they

would call it, which they found was so difficult, they should rather make a large periagua, or canoe, which might be done with great ease.

To this I answered, that I conceived our business was not to attempt our escape in a canoe, but that, as there were other vessels at sea besides our ship, and that there were few nations that lived on the seashore that were so barbarous, but that they went to sea in some boats or other, our business was to cruise along the coast of the island, which was very long, and to seize upon the first we could get that was better than our own, and so from that to another, till perhaps we might at last get a good ship to carry us whither ever we pleased to go.

Excellent advice, says one of them. Admirable advice, says another. Yes, yes, says the third (which was the gunner), the English dog has given excellent advice; but it is just the way to bring us all to the gallows. The rogue has given devilish advice, indeed, to go a-thieving till from a little vessel we come to a great ship, and so we shall turn downright pirates, the end of which is to be hanged.

You may call us pirates, says another, if you will; and, if we fall into bad hands, we may be used like pirates; but I care not for that, I'll be a pirate, or anything, nay, I'll be hanged for a pirate, rather than starve here; and therefore I think the advice is very good: and so they cried all; Let us have a canoe. The gunner, overruled by the rest, submitted; but as we broke up the council, he came to me, takes me by the hand, and looking into the palm of my hand, and into my face too, very gravely, My lad, says he, thou art born to do a world of mischief; thou hast commenced pirate very young; but have a care of the gallows, young man; have a care, I say, for thou wilt be an eminent thief.

I laughed at him, and told him I did not know what I

might come to hereafter; but as our case was now, I should make no scruple to take the first ship I came at, to get our liberty; I only wished we could see one, and come at her.

We went therefore immediately to work about our intended canoe; and, having singled out a very large tree to our mind, we fell to work with her; and having three good axes among us, we got it down, but it was four days time first, though we worked very hard too. I do not remember what wood it was, or exactly what dimensions; but I remember that it was a very large one, and we were as much encouraged when we launched it, and found it swam upright and steady, as we would have been at another time, if we had had a good man-of-war at our command.

The natives were civil enough to us, and came often to discourse with us; one time they brought one whom they showed respect to as a king with them, and they set up a long pole between them and us, with a great tassel of hair hanging, not on the top, but something above the middle of it, adorned with little chains, shells, bits of brass, and the like; and this we understood afterwards was a token of amity and friendship; and they brought down to us victuals in abundance, cattle, fowls, herbs, and roots; but we were in the utmost confusion on our side; for we had nothing to buy with, or exchange for; and as to giving us things for nothing, they had no notion of that again. As to our money, it was mere trash to them, they had no value for it; so that we were in a fair way to be starved. Had we had but some toys and trinkets, brass chains, baubles, glass beads, or, in a word, the veriest trifles that a ship load would not have been worth the freight, we might have bought cattle and provisions enough for an army, or to victual a fleet of men-of-war; but for gold or silver we could get nothing.

In the middle of our consultation, one of our men who

had been a kind of a cutler, or worker in iron, started up, and asked the carpenter, if, among all his tools, he could not help him to a file. Yes, says the carpenter, I can, but it is a small one. The smaller the better, says the other. Upon this he goes to work, and first, by heating a piece of an old broken chisel in the fire, and then he takes three or four pieces of eight, and beats them out with a hammer upon a stone, till they were very broad and thin, then he cut them out into the shape of birds and beasts; he made little chains of them for bracelets and necklaces, and turned them into so many devices, of his own head, that it is hardly to be expressed.

When he had for about a fortnight exercised his head and hands at this work, we tried the effect of his ingenuity; and, having another meeting with the natives, were surprised to see the folly of the poor people. For a little bit of silver cut out in the shape of a bird, we had two cows, and, which was our loss, if it had been in brass, it had been still of more value. For one of the bracelets made of chain-work, we had as much provision of several sorts, as would fairly have been worth, in England, fifteen or sixteen pounds; and so of all the rest. Thus, that which when it was in coin was not worth sixpence to us, when thus converted into toys and trifles, was worth a hundred times its real value, and purchased for us anything we had occasion for.

In this condition we lived upwards of a year, but all of us began to be very much tired of it, and, whatever came of it, resolved to attempt an escape.

We talked with many of the natives about it, such as we could make ourselves intelligible to; but all that we could learn from them was, that there was a great land of lions beyond the sea, but that it was a great way off: we knew as well as they that it was a long way, but our people differed mightily about it: some said it was one hundred and fifty leagues, others not above one hundred. One of our men,

that had a map of the world, showed us by his scale, that it was not above eighty leagues. Some said there were islands all the way to touch at; some, that there were no islands at all: for my part, I knew nothing of this matter one way or another, but heard it all without concern, whether it was near or far off; however, this we learned from an old man, who was blind, and led about by a boy, that if we stayed till the end of August, we should be sure of the wind to be fair, and the sea smooth all the voyage.

Upon the whole, it was resolved to venture over for the main; and venture we did, madly enough indeed: for it was the wrong time of the year to undertake such a voyage in that country, for, as the winds hang easterly all the months from September to March, so they generally hang westerly all the rest of the year, and blew right in our teeth, so that, as soon as we had, with a kind of a land-breeze, stretched over about fifteen or twenty leagues, and, as I may say, just enough to lose ourselves, we found the wind set in a steady fresh gale or breeze from the sea, at west, W.S.W. or S.W. by W., and never further from the west; so that, in a word, we could make nothing of it; and so, taking our smallest canoe in tow, we stood in for the shore with all the sail we could make. This was a terrible adventure; for, if the least gust of wind had come, we had been all lost, our canoes being deep, and in no condition to make way in a high sea.

This voyage, however, held us eleven days in all; and at length, having spent most of our provisions, and every drop of water we had, we spied land, to our great joy, though at the distance of ten or eleven leagues; and as, under the land, the wind came off like a land-breeze, and blew hard against us, we were two days more before we reached the shore, having all that while excessive hot weather, and not a drop of water, or any other liquor, except

some cordial waters, which one of our company had a little of left in a case of bottles.

This gave us a taste of what we should have done, if we had ventured forward with a scant wind and uncertain weather, and gave us a surfeit of our design for the main, at least until we might have some better vessels under us; so we went on shore again, and pitched our camp, as before, in as convenient a manner as we could, fortifying ourselves against any surprise; but the natives here were exceeding courteous, and much civiler than on the south part of the island; and though we could not understand what they said, or they us, yet we found means to make them understand that we were seafaring men, and strangers; and that we were in distress for want of provisions.

The first proof we had of their kindness was, that, as soon as they saw us come on shore, and begin to make our habitation, one of their captains or kings, for we knew not what to call them, came down with five or six men and some women, and brought us five goats and two young fat steers, and gave them to us for nothing; and when we went to offer them anything, the captain or the king, would not let any of them touch it, or take anything of us. About two hours after, came another king, or captain, with forty or fifty men after him; we began to be afraid of him, and laid hands upon our weapons; but he perceiving it, caused two men to go before him, carrying two long poles in their hands, which they held upright, as high as they could, which we presently perceived was a signal of peace, and these two poles they set up afterwards, sticking them up in the ground; and when the king and his men came to these two poles, they stuck all their lances up in the ground, and came on unarmed, leaving their lances, as also their bows and arrows, behind them.

This was to satisfy us, that they were come as friends,

and we were very glad to see it; for we had no mind to quarrel with them, if we could help it.

Here we observed two things that were very material to us, even essentially so; first, we found they had a great deal of earthenware here, which they make use of many ways, as we did: particularly, they had long deep earthen pots, which they used to sink into the ground, to keep the water which they drank cool and pleasant; and the other was, that they had larger canoes than their neighbours had.

By this we were prompted to inquire if they had no larger vessels than those we saw there; or if any other of the inhabitants had not such. They signified presently, that they had no larger boats than that they showed us; but that, on the other side of the island, they had larger boats, and that with decks upon them, and large sails; and this made us resolve to coast round the whole island to see them; so we prepared and victualled our canoe for the voyage, and, in a word, went to sea for the third time.

It cost us a month or six weeks' time to perform this voyage, in which time we went on shore several times for water and provisions, and found the natives always very free and courteous.

We continued our voyage south for many weeks, though with several intervals of going on shore to get provisions and water. At length, coming round a point of land which lay about a league further than ordinary into the sea, we were agreeably surprised with a sight, which, no doubt, had been as disagreeable to those concerned, as it was pleasant to us. This was the wreck of an European ship, which had been cast away upon the rocks, which in that place run a great way into the sea.

We could see plainly, at low water, a great deal of the ship lay dry; even at high water she was not entirely covered; and that at most she did not lie above a league

from the shore. It will easily be believed, that our curiosity led us, the wind and weather also permitting, to go directly to her, which we did without any difficulty, and presently found that it was a Dutch-built ship, and that she could not have been very long in that condition, a great deal of the upper work of her stern remaining firm, with the mizen-mast standing. Her stern seemed to be jammed in between two ridges of the rock, and so remained fast, all the fore-part of the ship having been beaten to pieces.

It was a very pleasant sight to us, when, coming on shore, we saw all the marks and tokens of a ship-carpenter's yard; as a launch-block and cradles, scaffolds and planks, and pieces of planks, the remains of the building a ship or vessel; and, in a word, a great many things that fairly invited us to go about the same work, and we soon came to understand, that the men belonging to the ship that was lost, had saved themselves on shore, perhaps in their boat, and had built themselves a bark or sloop, and so were gone to sea again; and inquiring of the natives which way they went, they pointed to the south and south-west, by which we could easily understand they were gone away to the Cape of Good Hope.

Nobody will imagine we could be so dull as not to gather from hence, that we might take the same method for our escape; so we resolved first in general, that we would try, if possible, to build us a boat of one kind or other, and go to sea as our fate should direct.

When we came to set close to this work, we found it very laborious and difficult, having but few tools, no iron-work, no cordage, no sails: so that, in short, whatever we built, we were obliged to be our own smiths, rope-makers, sail-makers, and indeed to practise twenty trades that we knew little or nothing of: however, necessity was the spur to

invention, and we did many things which before we thought impracticable, that is to say, in our circumstances.

To be short, we spent four months here, and worked very hard too; at the end of which time we launched our frigate, which, in a few words, had many defects, but yet, all things considered, it was as well as we could expect it to be.

Our debate now was which way we should go, and never were men so irresolute; some were for going to the east, and stretching away directly for the coast of Malabar; but others, who considered more seriously the length of that voyage, shook their heads at the proposal, knowing very well that neither our provisions (especially of water), or our vessel, were equal to such a run as that is, of near two thousand miles without any land to touch at in the way.

These men too had all along had a great mind to a voyage for the mainland of Africa, where they said we should have a fair cast for our lives, and might be sure to make ourselves rich, which way soever we went, if we were but able to make our way through, whether by sea or land.

Besides, as the case stood with us, we had not much choice for our way; for, if we had resolved for the east, we were at the wrong season of the year, and must have stayed till April, or May, before we had gone to sea. At length, as we had the wind at S.E. and E.S.E., and fine promising weather, we came all into the same proposal, and resolved for the coast of Africa. Nor were we long in disputing as to our coasting the island which we were upon, for we were now upon the wrong side of the island for the voyage we intended; so we stood away to the north, and having rounded the cape, we hauled away southward, under the lee of the island, thinking to reach the west point of land, which, as I observed before, runs out so far towards the coast of Africa, as would have shortened our run almost a hundred leagues. But when we had sailed about thirty leagues, we

found the winds variable under the shore, and right against us ; so we concluded to stand over directly, for then we had the wind fair, and our vessel was but very ill fitted to lie near the wind, or any way indeed but just afore it.

Having resolved upon it, therefore, we put into the shore to furnish ourselves again with fresh water, and other provisions, and about the latter end of March, with more courage than discretion, more resolution than judgment, we launched for the main coast of Africa.

The voyage was much longer than we expected : our vessel, also, which had no sail that was proportioned to her, made but very little way in the sea, and sailed heavily. No great adventures indeed happened in this voyage, being out of the way of everything that could offer to divert us ; and as for seeing any vessel, we had not the least occasion to hail anything in all the voyage ; for we saw not one vessel, small or great, the sea we were upon being entirely out of the way of all commerce, for the people of Madagascar knew no more of the shores of Africa than we did, only that there was a country of lions, as they call it, that way.

At length we came to a very large bay, and in it several little creeks or rivers emptying themselves into the sea, and we run boldly into the first creek we came at, where, seeing some huts and wild people about them on the shore, we ran our vessel into a little cove on the north side of the creek, and held up a long pole, with a white bit of cloth on it, for a signal of peace to them. We found they understood us presently, for they came flocking to us, men, women, and children, most of them, of both sexes, stark naked. At first they stood wondering and staring at us as if we had been monsters, and as if they had been frightened ; but we found they inclined to be familiar with us afterwards."

We were now landed upon the continent of Africa, the most desolate desert, and inhospitable country in the world, even Greenland and Nova Zembla itself not excepted ; with

this difference only, that even the worst part of it we found inhabited; though, taking the nature and quality of some of the inhabitants, it might have been much better to us if there had been none.

And, to add to the exclamation I am making on the nature of the place, it was here that we took one of the rashest and wildest, and most desperate resolutions that was ever taken by man, or any number of men, in the world; this was to travel over land through the heart of the country, from the coast of Mozambique, on the east ocean, to the coast of Angola or Guinea, on the western or Atlantic Ocean, a continent of land at least 1800 miles; in which journey we had excessive heats to support, unpassable deserts to go over; no carriages, camels, or beasts of any kind to carry our baggage, innumerable numbers of wild and ravenous beasts to encounter with; such as lions, leopards, tigers, lizards, and elephants; we had the equinoctial line to pass under, and, consequently, were in the very centre of the torrid zone; we had nations of savages to encounter with, barbarous and brutish to the last degree; hunger and thirst to struggle with; and, in one word, terrors enough to have daunted the stoutest hearts that ever were placed in cases of flesh and blood.

There happened several very remarkable incidents in this journey, as to how we were, or were not, received friendly by the several nations of savages through which we passed; how we gathered great store of gold and ivory; how we delivered one negro king from captivity, and restored him to his kingdom, which, perhaps, might contain about three hundred subjects; how he entertained us; and how he made his subjects go and fetch all our elephants' teeth which we had been obliged to leave behind us, and to carry them for us to the river, the name of which I forget, where we made rafts, and came down to one of the Dutch settlements on the gold coast, where we arrived in perfect

health, and to our great satisfaction. As for our cargo of teeth, we sold it to the Dutch factory; and it is to be observed that we had four pounds of gunpowder left when we ended our journey.

My comrades went away, in a small bark, to the two Portuguese factories, near Gambia, in the latitude of 14 degrees; and I went away to Cape Coast Castle, where I got passage for England, and arrived there in September; and thus ended my first harvest of wild oats; the rest were not sowed to so much advantage.

I had neither friend, relation, nor acquaintance in England, though it was my native country: I had consequently no person to trust with what I had, or to counsel me to secure or save it; but, falling into ill company, and trusting the keeper of a public house in Rotherhithe with a great part of my money, and hastily squandering away the rest, all that great sum, which I got with so much pains, and hazard, was gone in little more than two years' time; and, as I even rage in my own thoughts to reflect upon the manner how it was wasted, so I need record no more; the rest merits to be concealed with blushes, for that it was spent in all kinds of folly and wickedness; so this scene of my life may be said to have begun in theft and ended in luxury; a sad setting-out, and a worse coming home.

About the year 1686, I began to see the bottom of my stock, and that it was time to think of farther adventures; for my spoilers, as I call them, began to let me know, that as my money declined, their respect would ebb with it, and that I had nothing to expect of them farther than as I might command it by the force of my money, which, in short, would not go an inch the farther for all that had been spent in their favour before.

This shocked me very much, and I conceived a just abhorrence of their ingratitude; but it wore off; nor had I

met with any regret at the wasting so glorious a sum of money, as I brought to England with me.

I next shipped myself, in an evil hour to be sure, on a voyage to Cadiz, in a ship called the Cruizer, and in the course of our voyage, being on the coast of Spain, was obliged to put into the Groyne, by a strong south-west wind.

Here I fell into company with some masters of mischief; and, among them, one forwarder than the rest, began an intimate confidence with me, so that we called one another brothers, and communicated all our circumstances to one another: his name was Harris. This fellow came to me one morning, asking me if I would go on shore? and I agreed; so we got the captain's leave for the boat, and went together. When we were together, he asked me if I had a mind for an adventure that might make amends for all past misfortunes? I told him, yes, with all my heart; for I did not care where I went, having nothing to lose, and nobody to leave behind me.

He then asked me if I would swear to be secret, and that, if I did not agree to what he proposed, I would nevertheless never betray him? I readily bound myself to that, upon the most solemn imprecations and curses that the devil and both of us could invent.

He told me then, there was a brave fellow in the other ship, pointing to another English ship which rode in the harbour, who, in concert with some of the men, had resolved to mutiny the next morning, and run away with the ship; and that, if we could get strength enough among our ship's company, we might do the same. I liked the proposal very well, and he got eight of us to join with him; and he told us, that as soon as his friend had begun the work, and was master of the ship, we should be ready to do the like. This was his plot; and I, without the least hesitation, either at the villany of the fact, or the difficulty of performing it, came immediately into the wicked conspiracy; and

so it went on among us; but we could not bring our part to perfection.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, his correspondent in the other ship, whose name was Wilmot, began the work, and having seized the captain's mate, and other officers, secured the ship, and gave the signal to us. We were but eleven in our ship, who were in the conspiracy; nor could we get any more that we could trust; so that, leaving the ship, we all took the boat, and went off to join the other.

Having thus left the ship I was in, we were entertained with a great deal of joy by Captain Wilmot and his new gang; and, being prepared for all manner of roguery, bold, desperate, I mean myself, without the least checks of conscience for what I was entered upon, or for anything I might do, much less with any apprehension of what might be the consequence of it; I say, having thus embarked with this crew, which at last brought me to consort with the most famous pirates of the age, some of whom have ended their journals at the gallows; I think the giving an account of some of my other adventures may be an agreeable piece of story; and this I may venture to say beforehand, upon the word of a pirate, that I should not be able to recollect the full, no not by far, of the great variety which has formed one of the most reprobate schemes that ever man was capable to present to the world.

I that was, as I have hinted before, an original thief, and a pirate even by inclination before, was now in my element, and never undertook anything in my life with more particular satisfaction.

Captain Wilmot (for so we are now to call him), being thus possessed of a ship, and in the manner as you have heard, it may be easily concluded he had nothing to do to stay in the port, or to wait either the attempts that might be made from the shore, or any change which might happen among his men. On the contrary, we weighed anchor the

same tide, and stood out to sea, steering away for the Canaries. Our ship had twenty-two guns, but was able to carry thirty; and besides, as she was fitted out for a merchant ship only, she was not furnished either with ammunition or small arms sufficient for our design, or for the occasion we might have in case of a fight; so we put into Cadiz, that is to say, we came to an anchor in the bay; and the Captain, and one whom we called young Captain Kid, who was the gunner, and some of the men, who could best be trusted, among whom was my comrade Harris, who was made second mate, and myself, who was made a lieutenant; some bales of English goods were proposed to be carried on shore with us for sale; but, my comrade, who was a complete fellow at his business, proposed a better way for it; and, having been in the town before, told us, in short, that he would buy what powder and bullet, small arms, or anything else we wanted, on his own word, to be paid for when they came on board, in such English goods as we had there. This was by much the best way, and accordingly he and the captain went on shore by themselves, and, having made such a bargain as they found for their turn, came away again in two hours' time, and bringing only a butt of wine, and five casks of brandy with them, we all went on board again.

The next morning two barco-longoes came off to us, deeply loaden, with five Spaniards on board them, for traffic. Our captain sold them good pennyworths, and they delivered us sixteen barrels of powder, twelve small rundlets of fine powder for our small arms, sixty muskets, and twelve fuses for the officers; seventeen tons of cannon ball, fifteen barrels of musket-bullets, with some swords, and twenty good pair of pistols. Besides this they brought thirteen butts of wine (for we, that were now all become gentlemen, scorned to drink the ship's beer), also sixteen puncheons of brandy, with twelve barrels of raisins, and twenty chests of lemons; all which were paid for in English goods; and, over and above,

the captain received six hundred pieces of eight in money. They would have come again, but we would stay no longer.

From hence we sailed to the Canaries, and from thence onward to the West Indies, where we committed some depredation upon the Spaniards for provisions, and took some prizes, but none of any great value.

Out of all the prizes we took here, we took their powder and bullet, their small arms and cutlasses; and as for their men, we always took the surgeon and the carpenter, as persons who were of particular use to us upon many occasions: nor were they always unwilling to go with us; though for their own security, in case of accidents, they might easily pretend they were carried away by force; of which I shall give a pleasant account in the course of my other expeditions.

• We had one very merry fellow here, a quaker, whose name was William Walters, whom we took out of a sloop bound from Pennsylvania to Barbadoes. He was a surgeon, and they called him doctor; but he was not employed in the sloop as a surgeon, but was going to Barbadoes to get a berth, as the sailors call it. However, he had all his surgeon's chest on board, and we made him go with us, and take all his implements with him. He was a comic fellow indeed, a man of very good solid sense, and an excellent surgeon; but, what was worth all, very good humoured, and pleasant in his conversation, and a bold, stout fellow too, as any we had among us.

I found William, as I thought, not very averse to go along with us, and yet resolved to do it so, that it might be apparent he was taken away by force; and, to this purpose, he comes to me: Friend, says he, thou sayest I must go with thee, and it is not in my power to resist thee, if I would; but I desire thou wilt oblige the master of the sloop which I am on board, to certify under his hand, that I was taken away by force, and against my will. And

this he said with so much satisfaction in his face, that I could not but understand him. Ay, ay, says I, whether it be against your will or no, I'll make him and all the men give you a certificate of it, or I'll take them all along with us, and keep them till they do. So I drew up the certificate myself, wherein I wrote that he was taken away by main force, as a prisoner, by a pirate ship; that they carried away his chest and instruments first, and then bound his hands behind him, and forced him into their boat; and this was signed by the master and all his men.

Accordingly I fell a swearing at him, and called to my men to tie his hands behind him, and so we put him into our boat, and carried him away. When I had him on board, I called him to me; Now, friend, says I, I have brought you away by force, it is true, but I am not of the opinion I have brought you away so much against your will as they imagine: come, says I, you will be a useful man to us, and you shall have very good usage among us. So I unbound his hands, and first ordered all things that belonged to him to be restored to him, and our captain gave him a dram.

Thou hast dealt friendly by me, says he, and I will be plain with thee, whether I came willingly to thee or not. I shall make myself as useful to thee as I can; but thou knowest it is not my business to meddle when thou art to fight. No, no, says the captain, but you may meddle a little when we share the money. Those things are useful to furnish a surgeon's chest, says William, and smiled, but I shall be moderate.

In short, William was a most agreeable companion; but he had the better of us in this part, that, if we were taken, we were sure to be hanged, and he was sure to escape; and he knew it well enough: but, in short, he was a sprightly fellow, and fitter to be captain than any of us. I shall have often an occasion to speak of him in the rest of the story.

Our cruising so long in these seas began now to be so well known, that, not in England only, but in France and Spain, accounts had been made public of our adventures, and many stories told how we murdered the people in cold blood, tying them back to back, and throwing them into the sea: one half of which, however, was not true, though more was done than it is fit to speak of here.

The consequence of this however was, that several English men of war were sent to the West Indies, and were particularly instructed to cruise in the bay of Mexico, and the gulf of Florida, and among the Bahama Islands, if possible to attack us. So we stood away for the isle of Trinidad, where, though there were Spaniards on shore, yet we landed some men with our boat, and cut a very good piece of fir to make us a new top-mast, which we were much in want of, and which we got fitted up effectually; and also we got some cattle here to eke out our provisions; and, calling a council of war among ourselves, we resolved to quit those seas for the present, and steer away for the coast of Brazil.

The first thing we attempted here was only getting fresh water: but we learnt, that there lay the Portuguese fleet at the bay of All Saints, bound for Lisbon, ready to sail, and only waiting for a fair wind. This made us lie by, wishing to see them put to sea, and accordingly as they were with or without convoy, to attack or avoid them.

It sprung up a fresh gale in the evening, at S.W. by W., which, being fair for the Portugal fleet, and the weather pleasant and agreeable, we heard the signal given to un-moor, and, running in under the island of Si——, we hauled our main-sail and fore-sailⁿ up in the brails, lowered the top-sail upon the cap, and clewed them up, that we might lie as snug as we could, expecting their coming out, and the next morning saw the whole fleet come out accordingly, but not at all to our satisfaction, for they con-

sisted of twenty-six sail, and most of them ships of force as well as burthen, both merchantmen and men-of-war; so, seeing there was no meddling, we lay still where we were also, till the fleet was out of sight, and then stood off and on, in hopes of meeting with further purchase.

It was not long before we saw a sail, and immediately gave her chase; but she proved an excellent sailor, and, standing out to sea, we saw plainly she trusted to her heels — that is to say, to her sails. However, as we were a clean ship, we gained upon her, though slowly, and, had we had a day before us, we should certainly have come up with her; but it grew dark apace, and in that case we knew we should lose sight of her.

Our merry quaker, perceiving us to crowd still after her in the dark, wherein we could not see which way she went, came very drily to me: Friend Singleton, says he, dost thee know what we are doing? Says I, Yes, why we are chasing yon ship, are we not? And how dost thou know that? says he, very gravely still. Nay, that's true, says I again, we cannot be sure. Yes, friend, says he, I think we may be sure that we are running away from her — not chasing her. I am afraid, adds he, thou art turned quaker, and hast resolved not to use the hand of power, or art a coward, and art flying from thy enemy.

What do you mean? says I (I think I swore at him); what do ye sneer at now: you have always one dry rub or another to give us.

Nay, says he, it is plain enough the ship stood off to sea due east, on purpose to lose us, and thou mayest be sure her business does not lie that way; for what should she do, at the coast of Africa in this latitude, which should be as far south as Congo or Angola? But as soon as it is dark, that we shall lose sight of her, she will tack, and stand away west again for the Brazil coast, and for the bay, where, thou knowest, she was going before; and are we

not then running away from her? I am greatly in hopes, friend, says the dry gibing creature, thou wilt turn quaker, for I see thou art not for fighting.

Very well, William, says I, then I shall make an excellent pirate. However, William was in the right, and I apprehended what he meant immediately; and Captain Wilnot, who lay very sick in his cabin, overhearing us, understood him as well as I, and called out to me that William was right, and it was our best way to change our course, and stand away for the bay, where it was ten to one but we should snap her in the morning.

Accordingly, we went about ship, got our larboard tacks on board, set the top-gallant sails, and crowded for the bay of All Saints, where we came to an anchor, early in the morning, just out of gun-shot of the forts. We furled our sails with rope-yarns, that we might haul home the sheets without going up to loose them, and, lowering our main and fore-yards, looked just as if we had lain there a good while.

In two hours after we saw our game standing in for the bay with all the sail she could make, and she came innocently into our very mouths, for we lay still till we saw her almost within gunshot, when our fore-mast geers, being stretched fore and aft, we first ran up our yards, and then hauled home the top-sail sheets; the rope-yarns that furled them giving way of themselves, the sails were set in a few minutes; at the same time slipping our cable, we came upon her before she could get under way upon the other tack. They were so surprised that they made little or no resistance, but struck after the first broadside.

We were considering what to do with her, when William came to me: Hark thee, friend, says he, thou hast made a fine piece of work of it now, hast thou not? To borrow thy neighbour's ship here just at thy neighbour's door, and never ask him leave. Now, dost thou not think there are some men-of-war in the port? Thou hast given them the

alarm sufficiently; thou wilt have them upon thy back before night, depend upon it, to ask thee wherefore thou didst so.

Truly, William, said I, for aught I know, that may be true. What, then, shall we do next? Says he, Thou hast but two things to do, either to go in and take all the rest, or else get thee gone before they come out and take thee; for I see they are hoisting a top-mast to yon great ship, in order to put to sea immediately, and they won't be long before they come to talk with thee; and what wilt thou say to them when they ask thee why thou borrowest their ship without leave?

As William said, so it was: we could see by our glasses they were all in a hurry, manning and fitting some sloops they had there, and a large man-of-war, and it was plain they would soon be with us; but we were not at a loss what to do. We found the ship we had taken was laden with nothing considerable for our purpose, except some cocoa, some sugar, and twenty barrels of flour; the rest of her loading was hides; so we took out all we thought for our turn, and, among the rest, all her ammunition, great shot, and small arms, and turned her off; we also took a cable and three anchors she had, which were for our purpose, and some of her sails. She had enough left just to carry her into port, and that was all.

Having done this, we stood on upon the Brazil coast, southward, till we came to the mouth of the river Janeiro: but, as we had two days the wind blowing hard at S.E. and S.S.E., we were obliged to come to an anchor under a little island, and wait for a wind. In this time, the Portuguese had, it seems, given notice overland to the governor there, that a pirate was upon the coast; so that, when we came in view of the port, we saw two men-of-war riding just without the bar, whereof one we found was getting under sail with all possible speed, having slipped her cable, on purpose to

speak with us; the other was not so forward, but was preparing to follow; in less than an hour they stood fair both after us, with all the sail they could make.

Had not the night come on, William's words had been made good; they would certainly have asked us the question, what we did there? for we found the foremost ship gained upon us, especially upon one tack; for we plied away from them to windward; but in the dark losing sight of them, we resolved to change our course, and stand away directly to sea, not doubting but we should lose them in the night.

Whether the Portuguese commander guessed we would do so or no, I know not; but in the morning, when the daylight appeared, instead of having lost him, we found him in chase of us, about a league astern; only, to our great good fortune, we could see but one of the two; however, this one was a great ship, carried six and forty guns, and an admirable sailer, as appeared by her outsailing us; for our ship was an excellent sailer too, as I have said before.

When I found this, I easily saw there was no remedy, but we must engage; and, as we knew we could expect no quarters from those scoundrels the Portuguese, a nation I had an original aversion to, I let Captain Wilnot know how it was. The captain, sick as he was, jumped up in the cabin, and would be led out upon the deck (for he was very weak), to see how it was. Well, says he, we'll fight them.

Our men were all in good heart before; but to see the captain so brisk, who had lain ill of a calenture ten or eleven days, gave them double courage, and they went all hands to work to make a clear ship and be ready. William the quaker comes to me with a kind of smile: Friend, says he, what does yon ship follow us for? Why, says I, to fight us, you may be sure. Well, says he, and will she come up with us, dost thou think? Yes, said I, you

see she will. Why, then, friend, says the dry wretch, why dost thou run from her still, when thou seest she will overtake thee? will it be better for us to be overtaken further off than here? Much at one for that, says I; why, what would you have us do? Do! says he, let us not give the poor man more trouble than needs must; let us stay for him, and hear what he has to say to us. He will talk to us in powder and ball, said I. Very well then, says he, if that be his country language, we must talk to him in the same, must we not? or else how shall he understand us? Very well, William, says I, we understand you. And the captain, as ill as he was, called to me, William's right again, says he, as good here as a league further. So he gave a word of command, Haul up the mainsail; we'll shorten sail for him.

Accordingly we shortened sail; and, as we expected her upon our lee-side, we being then upon our starboard tack, brought eighteen of our guns to the larboard side, resolving to give him a broadside that should warm him; it was about half an hour before he came up with us, all which time we luffed up, that we might keep the wind of him, by which he was obliged to run up under our lee, as we designed him; when we got him upon our quarter, we edged down, and received the fire of five or six of his guns; by this time you may be sure all our hands were at their quarters, so we clapped our helm hard a-weather, let go the lee-braces of the main top-sail, and laid it a-back, and so our ship fell athwart the Portuguese ship's hawse; then we immediately poured in our broadside, raking them fore and aft, and killed them a great many men.

The Portuguese, we could see, were in the utmost confusion; and, not being aware of our design, their ship having fresh way, ran their bowsprit into the fore part of our main shrouds, as that they could not easily get clear of us, and so we lay locked after that manner; the enemy could

not bring above two or three guns, besides their small arms, to bear upon us, while we played our whole broadside upon him.

In the middle of the heat of this fight, as I was very busy upon the quarter-deck, the captain calls to me, for he never stirred from us, What on earth is friend William a-doing yonder, says the captain, has he any business upon deck? I stept forward, and there was friend William, with two or three stout fellows, lashing the ship's bowsprit fast to our mainmast, for fear they should get away from us; and every now and then he pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and gave the men a dram to encourage them. The shot flew about his ears as thick as may be supposed in such an action, where the Portuguese, to give them their due, fought very briskly, believing at first they were sure of their game, and trusting to their superiority; but there was William, as composed, and in as perfect tranquillity as to danger, as if he had been over a bowl of punch, only very busy securing the matter, that a ship of forty-six guns should not run away from a ship of eight-and-twenty.

This work was too hot to hold long; our men behaved bravely, our gunner, a gallant man, shouted below, pouring in his shot at such a rate, that the Portuguese began to slacken their fire; we had dismounted several of their guns by firing in at their fore-castle, and raking them, as I said, fore and aft; and presently comes William up to me: Friend, says he, very calmly, what dost thou mean? Why dost thou not visit thy neighbour, in the ship, the door being open for thee? I understood him immediately, for our guns had so torn their hull, that we had beat two port-holes into one, and the bulk-head of their steerage was split to pieces, so that they could not retire to their close quarters; I then gave the word immediately to board them. Our second lieutenant, with about thirty men, entered in; an instant over the fore-castle, followed by some more, with

the boatswain, and cutting in pieces about twenty-five men that they found upon the deck, and then, throwing some grenadoes into the steerage, they entered there also; upon which the Portuguese cried quarter presently, and we mastered the ship, contrary indeed to our own expectation; for we would have compounded with them, if they would have sheered off, but laying them athwart the hawse at first, and following our fire furiously, without giving them any time to get clear of us, and work their ship; by this means, though they had six-and-forty guns, they were not able to point them forward, as I said above, for we beat them immediately from their guns in the fore-castle, and killed them abundance of men between decks, so that, when we entered, they had hardly found men enough to fight us hand to hand upon their deck.

The surprise of joy, to hear the Portuguese cry quarter, and see their ancient struck, was so great to our captain, who, as I have said, was reduced very weak with a high fever, that it gave him new life. Nature conquered the distemper, and the fever abated that very night; so that in two or three days he was sensibly better: his strength began to come, and he was able to give his orders effectually in everything that was material, and in about ten days was entirely well, and about the ship.

In the mean time, I took possession of the Portuguese man-of-war; and Captain Wilnot made me, or rather I made myself, captain of her for the present. About thirty of their seamen took service with us, some of whom were French, some Genoese; and we set the rest on shore the next day, on a little island on the coast of Brazil, except some wounded men, who were not in a condition to be removed, and whom we were bound to keep on board; but we had an occasion afterwards to dispose of them at the Cape, where, at their own request, we set them on shore.

Captain Wilnot, as soon as the ship was taken, and the

prisoners stowed, was for standing in for the river Janeiro again, not doubting that we should meet with the other man-of-war, who, not having been able to find us, and having lost the company of her comrade, would certainly be returned, and might be surprised by the ship we had taken, if we carried Portuguese colours; and our men were all for it.

“ But our friend William gave us better counsel; for he came to me; Friend, says he, I understand the captain is for sailing back to the Rio Janeiro, in hopes to meet with the other ship that was in chase of thee yesterday. Is it true, dost thou intend it? Why, yes, says I, William, pray why not? Nay, says he, thou mayest do so if thou wilt. Well, I know that too, William, said I; but the captain is a man who will be ruled by reason; what have you to say to it? Why, says William, gravely, I only ask what is thy business, and the business of all the people thou hast with thee? Is it not to get money? Yes, William, it is so, in our honest way. And wouldst thou, says he, rather have money without fighting, or fighting without money? I mean, which wouldst thou have by choice, suppose it to be left to thee? O William, says I, the first of the two, to be sure. Why then, says he, what great gain hast thou made of the prize thou hast taken now, though it has cost thee the lives of thirteen of thy men, beside some hurt? It is true, thou hast got the ship and some prisoners; but thou wouldst have had twice the booty in a merchant ship, with not one quarter of the fighting; and how dost thou know either what force, or what number of men, may be in the other ship, and what loss thou mayest suffer, and what gain it shall be to thee, if thou take her? I think indeed thou mayest much better let her alope.

Why, William, it is true, said I, and I'll go tell the captain what your opinion is, and bring you word what he says. Accordingly I went to the captain, and told him

William's reasons; and the captain was of his mind—that our business was indeed fighting when we could not help it, but that our main affair was money, and that with as few blows as we could. So that adventure was laid aside, and we stood along-shore again south for the river De la Plata, expecting some purchase thereabouts; especially we had our eyes upon some of the Spanish ships from Buenos Ayres, which are generally very rich in silver, and one such prize would have done our business. We plied about here, in the latitude of near 22 degrees south, for near a month, and nothing offered; and here we began to consult what we should do next, for we had come to no resolution yet. Indeed, my design was always for the Cape de Bona Speranza, and so to the East Indies. I had heard some flaming stories of Captain Avery, and the fine things he had done in the Indies, which were doubled, and doubled, even ten thousandfold: and from taking a great prize in the bay of Bengal, where he took a lady, said to be the Great Mogul's daughter, with a great quantity of jewels about her, we had a story told us, that he took a Mogul ship, so the foolish sailors called it, loaden with diamonds.

I would fain have had friend William's advice—whither we should go; but he always put it off with some quaking quibble or other. In short, he did not care for directing us neither. Whether he made a piece of conscience of it, or whether he did not care to venture having it come against him afterwards, or no, this I know not; but we concluded at last without him.

• We were, however, pretty long in resolving, and hankered about the Rio de la Plata a long time. At last we spied a sail to windward, and it was such a sail as I believe had not been seen in that part of the world a great while. It wanted not that we should give it chase, for it stood directly towards us, as well as they that steered could make it, and even that was more accident of weather than

anything else ; for, if the wind had chopt about anywhere, they must have gone with it. I leave any man that is a sailor, or understands anything of a ship, to judge what a figure this ship made when we first saw her, and what we could imagine was the matter with her. Her main topmast was come by the board, about six feet above the cap, and fell forward, the head of the top-gallant mast hanging in the fore shrouds by the stay ; at the same time, the pareil of the mizen topsail yard, by some accident, giving way, the mizen topsail braces (the standing part of which being fast to the main topsail shrouds) brought the mizen topsail, yard and all, down with it, which spread over part of the quarter-deck like an awning ; the fore topsail was hoisted up two-thirds of the mast, but the sheets were flown ; the fore-yard was lowered down upon the fore-castle, the sail loose, and part of it hanging overboard. In this manner she came down upon us with the wind quartering. In a word, the figure the whole ship made was the most confounding to men that understood the sea that ever was seen. She had no boat, neither had she any colours out.

When we came near to her we fired a gun to bring her to. She took no notice of it, nor of us, but came on just as she did before. We fired again, but it was all one. At length we came within pistol-shot of one another, but nobody answered, nor appeared ; so we began to think that it was a ship gone ashore somewhere in distress, and, the men having forsaken her, the high tide had floated her off to sea. Coming nearer to her, we ran up alongside of her so close that we could hear a noise within her, and see the motion of several people through her ports.

Upon this we manned out two boats full of men, and very well armed, and ordered them to board her at the same minute, as near as they could, and to enter, one at her forechains on one side, and the other a-mid-ship on the other side. As soon as they came to the ship's side, a

surprising multitude of black sailors, such as they were, appeared upon deck, and, in short, terrified our men so much, that the boat which was to enter her men in the waist stood off again, and durst not board her; and the men that entered out of the other boat, finding the first boat, as they thought, beaten off, and seeing the ship full of men, jumped all back again into their boat, and put off, not knowing what the matter was. Upon this we prepared to pour in a broadside upon her: but our friend William sets us to rights again here; for it seems he guessed how it was sooner than we did; and coming up to me (for it was our ship that came up with her), Friend, says he, I am of opinion thou art wrong in this matter, and thy men have been wrong also in their conduct: I'll tell thee how thou shalt take this ship, without making use of those things called guns. How can that be, William? said I. Why, said he, thou mayst take her with thy helm; thou seest they keep no steerage, and thou seest the condition they are in; board her with thy ship under her lee quarter, and so enter her from the ship; I am persuaded thou wilt take her without fighting; for there is some mischief has befallen the ship, which we know nothing of.

In a word, it being a smooth sea, and little wind, I took his advice, and laid her aboard. Immediately our men entered the ship, where we found a large ship, with upwards of six hundred negroes, men and women, boys and girls, and not one Christian, or white man on board.

I was struck with horror at the sight; for immediately I concluded, as was partly the case, that these black wretches had got loose, had murdered all the white men, and thrown them into the sea; and I had no sooner told my mind to the men, but the thought of it so enraged them, that I had much ado to keep my men from cutting them all in pieces. But William, with many persuasions, prevailed upon them, by telling them that it was nothing but what, if they were

in the negroes' condition, they would do if they could; and that the negroes had really the highest injustice done them, to be sold for slaves without their consent; and that the law of nature dictated it to them; that they ought not to kill them, and that it would be wilful murder to do it.

This prevailed with them, and cooled their first heat; so they only knocked down twenty or thirty of them, and the rest ran all down between decks to their first places, believing, as we fancied, that we were their first masters come again.

It was a most unaccountable difficulty we had next; for we could not make them understand one word we said, nor could we understand one word ourselves that they said. We endeavoured by signs to ask them whence they came; but they could make nothing of it. We pointed to the great cabin, to the roundhouse, to the cook-room, then to our faces, to ask if they had no white men on board, and where they were gone: but they could not understand what we meant. On the other hand, they pointed to our boat and to their ship, asking questions as well as they could, and said a thousand things, and expressed themselves with great earnestness; but we could not understand a word of it all, or know what they meant by any of their signs.

We knew very well they must have been taken on board the ship as slaves, and that it must be by some European people too. We could easily see that the ship was a Dutch-built ship, but very much altered, having been built upon, and, as we supposed, in France; for we found two or three French books on board, and afterwards we found clothes, linen, lace, some old shoes, and several other things. We found, among the provisions, some barrels of Irish beef, some Newfoundland fish, and several other evidences that there had been Christians on board, but saw no remains of them. We found not a sword, gun, pistol, or weapon of any kind,

except some cutlasses; and the negroes had hid them below where they lay. We asked them what was become of all the small arms, pointing to our own, and to the places where those belonging to the ship had hung. One of the negroes understood me presently, and beckoned to me to come up upon the deck, where, taking my fuzee, which I never let go out of my hand for some time after we had mastered the ship; I say, offering to take hold of it, he made the proper motion of throwing it into the sea; by which I understood, as I did afterwards, that they had thrown all the small arms, powder, shot, swords, &c., into the sea, believing, as I supposed, those things would kill them though the men were gone.

After we understood this, we made no question but that the ship's crew having been surprised by these desperate rogues, had gone the same way, and had been thrown overboard also. We looked all over the ship to see if we could find any blood, and we thought we did perceive some in several places; but the heat of the sun melting the pitch and tar upon the decks, made it impossible for us to discern it exactly, except in the roundhouse, where we plainly saw that there had been much blood. We found the skuttle open, by which we supposed the captain and those that were with him had made their retreat into the great cabin, or those in the cabin had made their escape up into the roundhouse.

But that which confirmed us most of all in what had happened, was, that upon farther inquiry, we found that there were seven or eight of the negroes very much wounded, two or three of them with shot; whereof one had his leg broke, and lay in a miserable condition, the flesh being mortified, and, as our friend William said, in two days more he would have died. William was a most dexterous surgeon, and he showed it in this cure; for though all the surgeons we had on board both our ships (and

we had no less than five that called themselves bred surgeons, besides two or three who were pretenders or assistants,) though all these gave their opinions, that the negro's leg must be cut off, and that his life could not be saved without it : that the mortification had touched the marrow in the bone ; that the tendons were mortified, and that he could never have the use of his leg, if it should be cured ; William said nothing in general but that his opinion was otherwise, and that he desired the wound might be searched, and that he would then tell them farther. Accordingly, he went to work with the leg ; and, as he desired he might have some of the surgeons to assist him, we appointed him two of the ablest of them to help, and all of them to look on if they thought fit.

William went to work his own way, and some of them pretended to find fault at first. However, he proceeded, and searched every part of the leg where he suspected the mortification had touched it : in a word, he cut off a great deal of mortified flesh ; in all which the poor fellow felt no pain. William proceeded, till he brought the vessels which he had cut to bleed, and the man to cry out : then he reduced the splinters of the bone, and calling for help, set it, as we call it, and bound it up, and laid the man to rest, who found himself much easier than before.

At the first opening, the surgeons began to triumph ; the mortification seemed to spread, and a long red streak of blood appeared from the wound upwards to the middle of the man's thigh, and the surgeons told me the man would die in a few hours. I went to look at it, and found William himself under some surprise ; but when I asked him how long he thought the poor fellow could live, he looked gravely up at me, and said, As long as thou canst : I am not at all apprehensive of his life, said he ; but I would cure him, if I could, without making a cripple of him. I found he was not just then upon the operation, as to his leg,

but was mixing up something to give the poor creature, to repel, as I thought, the spreading contagion, and to abate or prevent any feverish temper that might happen in the blood; after which he went to work again, and opened the leg in two places above the wound, cutting out a great deal of mortified flesh, which it seems was occasioned by the bandage, which had pressed the parts too much; and withal, the blood being at that time in a more than common disposition to mortify, might assist to spread it.

Well, our friend William conquered all this, cleared the spreading mortification, that the red streak went off again, the flesh began to heal, and matter to run; and in a few days the man's spirits began to recover, his pulse beat regular, he had no fever, and gathered strength daily, and, in a word, he was a perfect sound man in about ten weeks, and we kept him amongst us, and made him an able seaman. But to return to the ship: we never could come at a certain information about it, till some of the negroes which we kept on board, and whom we taught to speak English, gave the account of it afterwards, and this maimed man in particular.

We inquired by all the signs and motions we could imagine, what was become of the people, and yet we could get nothing from them. Our lieutenant was for torturing some of them to make them confess; but William opposed that vehemently; and when he heard it was under consideration he came to me; Friend, says he, I make a request to thee not to put any of these poor wretches to torment. Why, William, said I, why not? You see they will not give any account of what is become of the white men. Nay, says William, do not say so; I suppose they have given thee a full account of every particular of it. How so? says I: pray what are we the wiser for all their jabbering? Nay, says William, that may be thy fault, for aught I know: thou wilt not punish the poor men because

they cannot speak English; and perhaps they never heard a word of English before. Now, I may very well suppose that they had given thee a large account of everything; for thou seest with what earnestness, and how long, some of them have talked to thee; and if thou canst not understand their language, nor they thine, how can they help that? At the best, thou dost but suppose that they have not told thee the whole truth of the story; and, on the contrary, I suppose they have; and how wilt thou decide the question, whether thou art right, or whether I am right? Besides, what can they say to thee, when thou askest them a question upon the torture, and at the same time they do not understand the question, and thou dost not know whether they say aye or no?

It is no compliment to my moderation to say I was convinced by these reasons; and yet we had all much ado to keep our second lieutenant from murdering some of them, to make them tell. What if they had told; he did not understand one word of it; but he would not be persuaded but that the negroes must needs understand him, when he asked them whether the ship had any boat or no, like ours, and what was become of it.

But there was no remedy but to wait till we made these people understand English; and to adjourn the story till that time. The case was thus; where they were taken on board the ship, that we could never understand, because they never knew the English names which we give to those coasts, or what nation they were who belonged to the ship, because they knew not one tongue from another; but this far the negro I examined, who was the same whose leg William had cured, told us—that they did not speak the same language we spoke, nor the same our Portuguese spoke, so that in all probability they must be French or Dutch.

Then he told us, that the white men used them barba-

rously ; that they beat them unmercifully ; that one of the negro men had a wife and two negro children, one a daughter, about sixteen years old ; that a white man ill-treated the negro man's wife, and also his daughter, which, as he said, made all the negro men mad ; and that the woman's husband was in a great rage ; at which the white man was so provoked, that he threatened to kill him ; but, in the night, the negro man being loose, got a great club, by which he made us understand he meant a handspike, and that when the same Frenchman (if it was a Frenchman) came among them again, he began again to abuse the negro man's wife ; at which the negro, taking up the handspike, knocked his brains out at one blow ; and then taking the key from him with which he usually unlocked the handcuffs which the negroes were fettered with, he set about a hundred of them at liberty, who, getting up upon the deck, by the same skuttle that the white man came down, and taking the man's cutlass who was killed, and laying hold of what came next them, they fell upon the men that were upon the deck, and killed them all, and afterwards those they found upon the forecastle ; that the captain and his other men, who were in the cabin and the roundhouse, defended themselves with great courage, and shot out at the loopholes at them, by which he and several other men were wounded, and some killed ; but that they broke into the roundhouse, after a long dispute, where they killed two of the white men, but owned that the two white men killed eleven of their men, before they could break in ; and then the rest having got down the skuttle into the great cabin, wounded three more of them.

That, after this, the gunner of the ship having secured himself in the gun-room, one of his men hauled up the long boat close under the stern, and putting into her all the arms and ammunition they could come at, got all into the boat, and afterwards took in the captain, and those that were with

him out of the great cabin. When they were all thus embarked, they resolved to lay the ship aboard again, and try to recover it. That they boarded the ship in a desperate manner, and killed at first all that stood in their way; but the negroes being by this time all loose, and having gotten some arms, though they understood nothing of powder and bullet, or guns, yet the men could never master them. However, they lay under the ship's bow, and got out all the men they had left in the cook-room, who had maintained themselves there, notwithstanding all the negroes could do, and with their small arms killed between thirty and forty of the negroes, but were at last forced to leave them.

They could give me no account whereabouts this was — whether near the coast of Africa or far off — or how long it was before the ship fell into our hands; only, in general, it was a great while ago, as they called it; and, by all we could learn, it was within two or three days after they had set sail from the coast. They told us that they had killed about thirty of the white men, having knocked them on the head with crows and handspikes, and such things as they could get: and one strong negro killed three of them with an iron crow, after he was shot twice through the body; and that he was afterwards shot through the head by the captain himself, at the door of the roundhouse, which he had split open with the crow; and this we suppose was the occasion of the great quantity of blood which we saw at the roundhouse door.

The same negro told us that they threw all the powder, and shot they could find into the sea, and they would have thrown the great guns into the sea, if they could have lifted them. Being asked how they came to have their sails in such a condition, his answer was, They no understand; they no know what the sails do; that was, they did not so much as know that it was the sails that made the ship go, or understand what they meant, or what to do with them. When

we asked him whither they were going, he said they did not know, but believed they should go home to their own country again. I asked him, in particular, what he thought we were, when we came first up with them: he said they were terribly frightened, believing we were the same white men that had gone away in their boats, and were come again in a great ship, with the two boats with them, and expected they would kill them all.

This was the account we got out of them, after we had taught them to speak English, and to understand the names and use of the things belonging to the ship, which they had occasion to speak of; and we observed that the fellows were too innocent to dissemble in their relation, and that they all agreed in the particulars, and were always in the same story, which confirmed very much the truth of what they said.

Having taken this ship, our next difficulty was, what to do with the negroes. The Portuguese in the Brazils would have bought them all of us, and been glad of the purchase, if we had not showed ourselves enemies there, and been known for pirates; but, as it was, we durst not go ashore anywhere thereabouts, or treat with any of the planters, because we should raise the whole country upon us; and, if there were any such things as men-of-war in any of their ports, we should be assured to be attacked by them, and by all the force they had by land or sea.

Nor could we think of any better success, if we went northward to our own plantations. One while we determined to carry them all away to Buenos Ayres, and sell them there to the Spaniards; but they were really too many for them to make use of; and to carry them round to the South Seas, which was the only remedy that was left, was so far that we should be no way able to subsist them for so long a voyage.

At last our old never-failing friend, William, helped us out again, as he had often done at a dock-lift. His proposal

was this, that he should go as master of the ship, and about twenty men, such as we could best trust, and attempt to trade privately upon the coast of Brazil, with the planters, not at the principal ports, because that would not be admitted.

We all agreed to this, and appointed to go away ourselves towards the Rio de la Plata, where we had thought of going before, and to wait for him not there, but at Port. St. Pedro, as the Spaniards call it, lying at the mouth of the river which they call Rio Grande, and where the Spaniards had a small fort and a few people, but we believed there was nobody in it.

Here we took up our station, cruising off and on, to see if we could meet any ships going to, or coming from, Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata; but we met with nothing worth notice. However, we employed ourselves in things necessary for our going off to sea; for we filled all our water-casks, and got some fish for our present use, to spare as much as possible our ship's stores.

William, in the meantime, went away to the north, and made the land about the Cape of St. Thomas; and, betwixt that and the isles of Tuberon, he found means to trade with the planters for all his negroes, as well the women as the men, and at a very good price too; for William, who spoke Portuguese pretty well, told them a fair story enough, that the ship was in scarcity of provisions, that they were driven a great way out of their way, and indeed, as we say, out of their knowledge, and that they must go up to the northward as far as Jamaica, or sell there upon the coast. This was a very plausible tale, and was easily believed; and, if you observe the manner of the negroes' sailing, and what happened in their voyage, was every word of it true. So he sold all his negroes, and at last sold the ship itself, and shipped himself and his twenty men in a large well-built sloop. We sailed away for the Cape of Good Hope, the begin-

ing of October, 1706, and passed by in sight of the Cape, the 12th of November following, having met with a great deal of bad weather: we saw several merchant-ships in the road there, as well English as Dutch, whether outward bound or homeward, we could not tell: be it what it would, we did not think fit to come to an anchor, not knowing what they might be, or what they might attempt against us, when they knew what we were: however, as we wanted fresh water, we sent the two boats belonging to the Portuguese man-of-war, with all Portuguese seamen or negroes in them, to the watering-place, to take in water; and in the mean time, we hung out a Portuguese ancient at sea, and lay by all that night. They knew not what we were; but it seems we past for anything but what we really were.

It was the 28th of November, when, having had some bad weather, we came to an anchor in the road off St. Augustine bay, at the south-west end of my old acquaintance the isle of Madagascar: we lay here awhile, and trafficked with the natives, for some good beef; though the weather was so hot, that we could not promise ourselves to salt any of it up to keep; but I showed them the way which we practised before, to salt it first with saltpetre, then cure it, by drying it in the sun, which made it eat very agreeably, though not so wholesome for our men, that not agreeing with our way of cooking, viz., boiling with pudding, brewess, &c.; and particularly this way would be too salt, and the fat of the meat be rusty, or dried away, so as not to be eaten.

This, however, we could not help, and made ourselves amends by feeding heartily on the fresh beef while we were there, which was excellent good and fat, every way as tender and as well relished as in England, and thought to be much better to us who had not tasted any in England for so long a time.

Having now for some time remained here, we began to consider that this was not a place for our business; and I, that had some views a particular way of my own, told them, that this was not a station for those who looked for purchase; that there were two parts of the island which were particularly proper for our purposes; first, the bay on the east side of the island, and from thence to the island Mauritius, which was the usual way which ships that came from the Malabar coast, or the coast of Coromandel, Fort St. George, &c., used to take, and where, if we waited for them, we ought to take our station.

They were easily convinced of the reasonableness of my scheme; and Captain Wilmot, whom I now called our Admiral, though he was at first of the mind to go and lie at the island Mauritius, and wait for some of the European merchant-ships from the road of Coromandel, or the Bay of Bengal, was now of my mind.

Accordingly we put to sea, and cruised away to the northward, for the Arabian coast; it was a long run; but as the winds generally blow trade from the south and S.S.E. from May to September, we had good weather; and in about twenty days we made the island of Saccatia, lying south from the Arabian coast, and E.S.E. from the mouth of the gulf of Mocha, or the Red Sea.

Here we took in water, and stood off and on upon the Arabian shore. We had not cruised here above three days, or thereabouts, before I spied a sail, and gave her chase; but when we came up with her, never was such a poor prize chased by pirates that looked for booty; for we found nothing in her, but poor, half-naked Turks, going a pilgrimage to Mecca to the tomb of their prophet Mahomet. The junk that carried them had no one thing worth taking away, but a little rice, and some coffee, which was all the poor wretches had for their subsistence; so we let them go, for indeed we knew not what to do with them.

We continued here eleven days longer, and saw nothing but now and then a fishing-boat; but the twelfth day of our cruise, we spied a ship: indeed I thought at first it had been an English ship; but it appeared to be an European, freighted for a voyage from Goa, on the coast of Malabar, to the Red Sea, and was very rich. We chased her, and took her without any fight, though they had some guns on board too, but not many. We found her manned with Portuguese seamen, but under the direction of five merchant Turks, who had hired her on the coast of Malabar of some Portugal merchants, and had laden her with pepper, saltpetre, some spices, and the rest of the loading was chiefly calicoes and wrought silks, some of them very rich.

We took her, and carried her to Saccatia; but we really knew not what to do with her, for the same reasons as before; for all their goods were of little or no value to us. After some days, we found means to let one of the Turkish merchants know, that if he would ransom the ship, we would take a sum of money, and let them go. He told me, if I would let one of them go on shore for the money, they would do it; so we adjusted the value of the cargo at 30,000 ducats. Upon this agreement, we allowed the sloop to carry him on shore at Dofar in Arabia, where a rich merchant laid down the money for them, and came off with our sloop; and on payment of the money we very fairly and honestly let them go.

Some days after this, we took an Arabian junk, going from the gulf of Persia to Mocha, with a good quantity of pearl on board. We gutted him of the pearl, which, it seems, was belonging to some merchants at Mocha, and let him go; for there was nothing else worth our taking.

We continued cruising up and down here, till we began to find our provisions grow low, when Captain Wilmot, our admiral, told us, it was time to think of going back to the rendezvous; and the rest of the men, said the same, being

a little weary of beating about for above three months together, and meeting with little or nothing, compared to our great expectations; but I was very loath to part with the Red Sea at so cheap a rate, and pressed them to tarry a little longer, which at my instance we did; but three days afterwards, to our great misfortune, we understood, that, by landing the Turkish merchants at Dofar, we had alarmed the coast as far as the Gulf of Persia, so that no vessel would stir that way, and consequently nothing was to be expected on that side.

I was greatly mortified at this news, and could no longer withstand the importunities of the men, to return to Madagascar. However, as the winds continued still to blow at S.S.E. to E. by S., we were obliged to stand away towards the coast of Africa, and the Cape Guardefoy, the winds being more variable under the shore than in the open sea.

Here we chopped upon a booty which we did not look for, and which made amends for all our waiting; for, the very same hour that we made land, we spied a large vessel sailing along the shore, to the southward. The ship was of Bengal, belonging to the Great Mogul's country, but had on board a Dutch pilot, whose name, if I remember right, was Vandergest, and several European seamen, whereof three were English. She was in no condition to resist us. The rest of her seamen were Indians of the Mogul's subjects, some Malabars, and some others. There were five Indian merchants on board, and some Armenians.

We got near two hundred thousand pieces of eight in this vessel; and, if they said true, there was a Jew of Goa, who intended to have embarked with them, who had two hundred thousand pieces of eight with him, all his own; but his good fortune hindered him; for he fell sick at Mocha, and could not be ready to travel, which was the saving of his money.

There was none with me at the taking this prize but the

sloop; for Captain Wilmot's ship proving leaky, he went away for the rendezvous before us, and arrived there the middle of December; but not liking the port, he left a great cross on shore, with directions written on a plate of lead fixed to it, for us to come after him to the great bay at Mangahelly, where we found a very good harbour; but we learned a piece of news here, that kept us from him a great while, which the admiral took offence at; but we stopped his mouth with his share of two hundred thousand pieces of eight to him and his ship's crew. But the story which interrupted our coming to him was this. Between Mangahelly, and another point, called Cape St. Sebastian, there came on shore, in the night, an European ship; and whether stress of weather, or want of a pilot, I know not, but the ship stranded, and could not be got off; and this was no other than a ship which we had taken in the West Indies, and whose company we had lost in a storm at Tobago, after making an agreement to rendezvous at Madagascar!

They had, it seems, got intelligence of us, when they came to the south part of the island, and had been a roving as far as the gulf of Bengal, when they met Captain Avery, with whom they joined, took several rich prizes, and, amongst the rest, one ship with the Great Mogul's daughter, and an immense treasure in money and jewels; and from thence they came about the coast of Coromandel, and afterwards that of Malabar, into the gulf of Persia, where they also took some prize, and then designed for the south part of Madagascar; but the winds blowing hard at S.E. and S.E. by E., they came to the northward of the isle, and being, after that, separated by a furious tempest from the N.W., they were forced into the mouth of that creek, where they lost their ship. And they told us also, that they heard that Captain Avery himself had lost his ship also, not far off.

When our men went into their huts, it was surprising.

indeed to see the vast stock of wealth they had got, in gold, and silver, and jewels, which, however, they told us was a trifle to what Captain Avery had, wherever he was gone.

The next day we weighed, and stood away southerly to join Captain Wilnot, and his ship, at Mangahelly, where we found him, as I said, a little chagrined at our stay.

It was some time before we knew what was become of Captain Avery; but after about a month, by the direction of the men who had lost their ship, we sent the sloop to cruise along the shore, to find out, if possible, where they were; and in about a week's cruise, our men found them; and particularly, that they had lost their ship, as well as our men had lost theirs, and that they were every way in as bad a condition as ours.

As we lay here some time, I found our people mightily divided in their notions; some were for going this way, and some that, till at last I began to foresee they would part company, and perhaps we should not have men enough to keep together to man the great ship; so I took Captain Wilnot aside, and began to talk to him about it, but soon perceived that he inclined himself to stay at Madagascar, and, having got a vast wealth for his own share, had secret designs of getting home some way or other.

I argued the impossibility of it, and the hazard he would run, either of falling into the hands of thieves and murderers in the Red Sea, who would never let such a treasure as his pass their hands, or of his falling into the hands of the English, Dutch, or French, who would certainly hang him for a pirate. I gave him an account of the voyage I had made from this very place to the continent of Africa, and what a journey it was to travel on foot.

The captain took what I said to him quite wrong, and pretended to resent it, and gave me some buccaneer words upon it: but I gave him no return to it but this; that I advised him for his advantage; that, if he did not under-

stand it so, it was his fault, not mine; that I did not forbid to go, nor had I offered to persuade any of the men not to go with him, though it was to their apparent destruction.

However, warm heads are not easily cooled: the captain was so eager, that he quitted our company, and, with most of his crew, went over to Captain Avery, and sorted with his people, taking all the treasure with him, which, by the way, was not very fair in him, we having agreed to share all our gains, whether more or less, whether absent or present.

We lay here, about these several simple disputes, almost five months, when, about the latter end of March, I set sail with the great ship, having in her forty-four guns and four hundred men, and the sloop, carrying eighty men. We did not steer to the Malabar coast, and so to the Gulf of Persia, as was at first intended, the east monsoons blowing yet too strong; but we kept more under the African coast, where we had the wind variable till we passed the line, and made the Cape Bassa, in the latitude of 4 degrees 10 minutes: from thence, the monsoons beginning to change to the N.E. and N.N.E., we led it away, with the wind large, to the Maldives, a famous lodge of islands, well known by all the sailors who have gone into those parts of the world; and, leaving these islands a little to the south, we made Cape Comorin, the southernmost land of the coast of Malabar, and went round the isle of Ceylon.

My long projected design now lay open to me, which was to fall amongst the Dutch Spice Islands, and see what mischief I could do there: accordingly, we put out to sea, the 12th of August, and passing the line on the 17th, we stood away due south, leaving the Straits of Sunda, and the isle of Java, on the east, till we came to the latitude of 11 degrees 20 minutes, when we steered east and E.N.E., having easy gales from the W.S.W. till we came among the Moluccas, or Spice Islands.

I was once resolved to have made a descent at the island.

of Dumas, the place most famous for the best nutmegs; but friend William, who was always for doing our business without fighting, dissuaded me from it, and gave such reasons for it, that we could not resist; particularly the great heats of the season, and of the place, for we were now in the latitude of just half a degree south; but while we were disputing this point, we were soon determined by the following accident. We had a strong gale of wind at S.W. by W., and the ship had fresh way, but a great sea rolling in upon us from the N.E., which we afterwards found was the pouring in of the great ocean east of New Guinea. However, as I said, we stood away large, and made fresh way, when, on the sudden, from a dark cloud which hovered over our heads, came a flash, or rather blast of lightning, which was so terrible, and quivered so long among us, that not I only, but all our men, thought the ship was on fire. The heat of the flash, or fire, was so sensibly felt in our faces, that some of our men had blisters raised by it on their skins, not immediately perhaps by the heat, but by the poisonous or noxious particles which mixed themselves with the matter inflamed. But this was not all; the shock of the air, which the fracture of the clouds made, was such, that our ship shook as when a broadside is fired; and her motion being checked, as it were, at once, by a repulse superior to the force that gave her way before, the sails all flew back in a moment, and the ship lay, as we might truly say, thunderstruck. As the blast from the cloud was so very near us, it was but a few moments after the flash, that the terriblest clap of thunder followed that was ever heard by mortals. I firmly believe, a blast of a hundred thousand barrels of gunpowder could not have been greater to our hearing; nay, indeed, to some of our men it took away their hearing.

It is not possible for me to describe, or any one to conceive, the terror of that minute. Our men were in such

a consternation, that not a man on board the ship had presence of mind to apply to the proper duty of a sailor, except friend William; and had he not run very nimbly, and with a composure that I am sure I was not master of, to let go the fore-sheet, set in the weather-brace of the fore-yard, and haul down the top-sails, we had certainly brought all our masts by the board, and perhaps have been overwhelmed in the sea.

As for myself, I must confess my eyes were open to my danger, though not the least to anything of application for remedy. I was all amazement and confusion, and this was the first time that I can say I began to feel the effects of that horror which I know, since much more of, upon the just reflection on my former life. I thought myself doomed by Heaven to sink that moment into eternal destruction; and with this peculiar mark of terror, viz., that the vengeance was not executed in the ordinary way of human justice, but that God had taken me into His immediate disposing, and had resolved to be the executor of His own vengeance.

My soul was all amazement and surprise; I thought myself just sinking into eternity, owing the divine justice of my punishment, but not at all feeling any of the moving, softening tokens of a sincere penitent; afflicted at the punishment, but not at the crime; alarmed at the vengeance, but not terrified at the guilt; having the same gust to the crime, though terrified to the last degree at the thought of the punishment, which I concluded I was just now going to receive.

But perhaps many that read this will be sensible of the thunder and lightning, that may think nothing of the rest, or rather may make a jest of it all; so I say no more of it at this time, but proceed to the story of the voyage. When the amazement was over, and the men began to come to themselves, they fell a-calling for one another, every one for

his friend, or for those he had most respect for; and it was a singular satisfaction to find that nobody was hurt. The next thing was to inquire if the ship had received no damage, when the boatswain stepping forward, found that part of the head was gone, but not so as to endanger the bowsprit; so we hoisted our topsails again, hauled aft the fore-sheet, braced the yards, and went our course as before. Nor can I deny but that we were all somewhat like the ship; our first astonishment being a little over, and that we found the ship swim again, we were soon the same irreligious hardened crew that we were before, and I among the rest.

As we passed into these seas, steering due north, so we soon crossed the line to the north side, and so sailed on towards Mindanao and Manilla, the chief of the Philippine islands, without meeting with any purchase, till we came to the northward of Manilla, and then our trade began; for here we took three Japanese vessels, though at some distance from Manilla. Two of them had made their market, and were going home with nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, &c., besides all sorts of European goods, brought with the Spanish ships from Acapulco. They had together eight-and-thirty tons of cloves, and five or six tons of nutmegs, and as much cinnamon. We took the spice, but meddled with very little of the European goods, they being, as we thought, not worth our while; but we were very sorry for it soon after, and therefore grew wiser upon the next occasion.

The third Japanese was the best prize to us; for he came with money, and a great deal of gold uncoined, to buy such goods as we mentioned above. We eased him of his gold, and did him no other harm, and, having no intention to stay long here, we stood away for China.

We were at sea above two months upon this voyage, beating it up against the wind, which blew steadily from the N.E., and within a point or two one way or other; and this

indeed was the reason why we met with the more prizes in our voyage.

We were just gotten clear of the Philippines, and we purposed to go to the isle of Formosa, but the wind blew so fresh at N.N.E. that there was no making anything of it, and we were forced to put back to Laconia, the most northerly of those islands. We rode here very secure, and shifted our situation, not in view of any danger, for there was none, but for a better supply of provisions, which we found the people very willing to supply us with.

We stayed here till the beginning of May, when we were told the Chinese traders would set forward; for the northern monsoons end about the latter end of March, or beginning of April; so that they are sure of fair winds home. Accordingly we hired some of the country boats, which are very swift sailers, to go and bring us word how affairs stood at Manilla, and when the China junks would sail; and by this intelligence we ordered our matters so well, that, three days after we set sail, we fell in with no less than eleven of them; out of which, however, having, by misfortune of discovering ourselves, taken but three, we contented ourselves, and pursued our voyage to Formosa. In these three vessels we took, in short, such a quantity of cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, and nace, besides silver, that our men began to be of my opinion—that we were rich enough; and, in short, we had nothing to do now, but to consider by what methods to secure the immense treasure we had got.

The next motion, therefore, was about going back, and the way by which we should perform the voyage, so as not to be attacked by the Dutch in the Straits of Sunda.

Accordingly we set sail, having taken all the provisions here that we could get, the 28th of September, the wind veering a little at first from the N.N.W. to the N.E. by E., but afterwards settled about the N.E. and the E.N.E. We were nine weeks in this voyage, having met with several

interruptions by the weather, and put in under the lee of a small island, in the latitude of 16 degrees 12 minutes, of which we never knew the name, none of our charts having given any account of it; I say, we put in here by reason of a strange tornado, or hurricane, which brought us into a great deal of danger. Here we rode about sixteen days, the winds being very tempestuous, and the weather uncertain. However, we got some provisions on shore, such as plants and roots, and a few hogs. We believed there were inhabitants on the island, but we saw none of them.

From hence, the weather settling again, we went on, and we kept on our course to the south, a little westerly, till we passed the south tropic, where we found the winds variable; and now we stood away fair west, and held it out for about twenty days, when we discovered land right ahead, and on our larboard bow; we made directly to the shore, being willing to take all advantages now for supplying ourselves with fresh provisions and water, knowing we were now entering on that vast unknown Indian Ocean, perhaps the greatest sea on the globe, having, with very little interruption of islands, a continued sea quite around the globe.

We found a good road here, and some people on shore; but when we landed they fled up the country, nor would they hold any correspondence with us or come near us, but shot at us several times with arrows as long as lances. We set up white flags for a truce; but they either did not, or would not, understand it: on the contrary, they shot our flag of truce through several times with their arrows; so that, in a word, we never came near any of them.

When we saw them so shy, that they would not come near us, our men began to range over the island, if it was such, for we never surrounded it, to search for cattle, and for any of the Indian plantations, for fruits or plants; but they soon found, to their cost, that they were to use more caution than that came to, and that they were to discover

perfectly every bush and every tree, before they ventured abroad in the country; for about fourteen of our men going farther than the rest, into a part of the country which seemed to be planted, as they thought, for it did but seem so, only I think it was overgrown with canes, such as we make our cane chairs with; I say, venturing too far, they were suddenly attacked with a shower of arrows from almost every side of them, as they thought, out of the tops of the trees.

• But the worst of their adventure was to come; for as they came back, they passed by a prodigious great trunk of an old tree; what tree it was, they said they did not know, but it stood like an old decayed oak in a park, where the keepers in England take *a stand*, as they call it, to shoot a deer; and it stood just under the steep side of a great rock, or hill, that our people could not see what was beyond it.

• As they came by this tree, they were of a sudden shot at from the top of the tree, with seven arrows and three lances, which, to our great grief, killed two of our men, and wounded three more. This was the more surprising, because, being without any defence, and so near the trees, they expected more lances and arrows every moment; nor would flying do them any service, the Indians being, as appeared, very good marksmen. In this extremity, they had happily this presence of mind, viz., to run close to the tree, and stand as it were under it; so that those above could not come at, or see them, to throw their lances at them. This succeeded, and gave them time to consider what to do; they knew their enemies and murderers were above; they heard them talk, and those above knew those were below; but they below were obliged to keep close for fear of their lances from above. At length one of our men looking a little more strictly than the rest, thought he saw the head of one of the Indians, just over a dead limb of the tree, which, it seems, the creature sat

upon. One man immediately fired, and levelled his piece so true, that the shot went through the fellow's head; and down he fell out of the tree immediately, and came upon the ground with such force, with the height of his fall, that if he had not been killed with the shot, he would certainly have been killed with dashing his body against the ground.

This so frightened them, that, besides the ugly howling noise they made in the tree, our men heard a strange clatter of them in the body of the tree, from whence they concluded they had made the tree hollow, and were gone to hide themselves there. Now, had this been the case, they were secure enough from our men, for it was impossible any of our men could get up the tree on the outside, there being no branches to climb by; and, to shoot at the tree, that they tried several times to no purpose, for the tree was so thick, that no shot would enter it. They made no doubt, however, but that they had their enemies in a trap, and that a small siege would either bring them down, tree and all, or starve them out; so they resolved to keep their post, and send to us for help. Accordingly, two of them came away to us for more hands, and particularly desired that some of our carpenters might come with tools, to help to cut down the tree, or at least to cut down other wood, and set fire to it; and that, they concluded, would not fail to bring them out.

Accordingly, our men went like a little army, and with mighty preparation for an enterprise the like of which has scarce been ever heard, to form the siege of a great tree. However, when they came there, they found the task difficult enough, for the old trunk was indeed a very great one, and very tall, being at least two-and-twenty feet high, with seven old limbs standing out every way on the top, but decayed, and very few leaves, if any, left on it.

William the Quaker, whose curiosity led him to go among the rest, proposed, that they should make a ladder, and get upon the top, and then throw wildfire into the tree and smoke

them out. Others proposed going back, and getting a great gun out of the ship, which would split the tree in pieces with the iron bullets; others, that they should cut down a great deal of wood, and pile it up round the tree, and set it on fire, and burn the tree, and the Indians in it.

These consultations took up our people no less than two or three days, in all which time they heard nothing of the supposed garrison within this wooden castle, nor any noise within. William's project was first gone about, and a large strong ladder was made, to scale this wooden tower; and in two or three hours' time, it would have been ready to mount, when, on a sudden, they heard the noise of the Indians in the body of the tree again, and a little after, several of them appeared in the top of the tree, and threw some lances down at our men; one of which struck one of our seamen a-top of the shoulder, and gave him such a desperate wound that the surgeons not only had a great deal of difficulty to cure him, but the poor man endured such horrible torture, that we all said they had better have killed him outright. However, he was cured at last, though he never recovered the perfect use of his arm, the lance having cut some of the tendons on the top of the arm, near the shoulder, which, as I suppose, performed the office of motion to the limb before; so that the poor man was a cripple all the days of his life. But to return to the desperate rogues in the tree; our men shot at them, but did not find they had hit them, or any of them; but as soon as ever they shot at them, they could hear them huddle down into the trunk of the tree again, and there to be sure they were safe.

Well, however, it was this which put by the project of William's ladder; for when it was done, who would venture up among such a troop of bold creatures as were there, and who, they supposed, were desperate by their circumstances? And as but one man at a time could go up, they began to think that it would not do; and indeed, I was of the opinion

(for about this time I was come to their assistance), that going up the ladder would not do, unless it was thus, that a man should, as it were, run just up to the top, and throw some fire-works into the tree, and come down again; and this we did two or three times, but found no effect from it. At last one of our gunners made a stinkpot, as we called it, being a composition which only smokes, but does not flame or burn; but withal, the smoke of it is so thick, and the smell of it so intolerably nauseous, that it is not to be suffered. This he threw into the tree himself, and we waited for the effect of it, but heard or saw nothing all that night, or the next day; so we concluded the men within were all smothered, when, on a sudden, the next night we heard them upon the top of the tree again, shouting and hallooing like madmen.

We concluded, as anybody would, that this was to call for help; and we resolved to continue our siege; for we were all enraged to see ourselves so baulked by a few wild people, whom we thought we had safe in our clutches; and indeed never were there so many concurring circumstances to delude men, in any case we had met with. We resolved, however, to try another stinkpot the next night, and our engineer and gunner had got it ready, when hearing a noise of the enemy, on the top of the tree, and in the body of the tree, I was not willing to let the gunner go up the ladder, which, I said, would be but to be certain of being murdered. However, he found a medium for it, and that was to go up a few steps, and, with a long pole in his hand, to throw it in upon the top of the tree, the ladder being standing all this while against the top of the tree; but when the gunner, with his machine at the top of his pole, came to the tree, with three other men to help him, behold the ladder was gone.

This perfectly confounded us; and we now concluded the Indians in the tree had by this piece of negligence taken the

opportunity, and coming all down the ladder, had made their escape, and carried away the ladder with them. I laughed most heartily at my friend William, who, as I said, had the direction of the siege, and had set up a ladder, for the garrison, as we called them, to get down upon, and run away. But when daylight came, we were all set to rights again; for there stood our ladder, hauled up on the top of the tree, with about half of it in the hollow of the tree, and the other half upright in the air. Then we began to laugh at the Indians for fools, that they could not as well have found their way down by the ladder, and have made their escape, as to have pulled it up by main strength into the tree.

We then resolved upon fire, and to put an end to the work at once, to burn the tree and its inhabitants together; and accordingly we went to work to cut the wood, and in a few hours' time we got enough, as we thought, together; and, piling it up round the bottom of the tree, we set it on fire, and waited at a distance, to see when the gentlemen (whose quarters must soon become too hot for them) would come flying out at the top. But we were quite confounded, when on a sudden we found the fire all put out by a great quantity of water thrown upon it. We then thought the evil one must be in them, to be sure. Says William, "This is certainly the cunningest piece of Indian engineering that ever was heard of; and there can be but one thing more to guess at, besides witchcraft and dealing with the devil, which I believe not one word of," says he; "and that must be, that this is an artificial tree, ~~for~~ a natural tree artificially made, hollow down into the earth, through root and all; and that these creatures have an artificial cavity underneath it, quite into the hill, or a way to go through, and under the hill, to some other place; and where that other place is, we know not; but if it be not our own fault, I'll find the place, and follow them into it, before I am two days older." He then

called the carpenters, to know of them if they had any large saws that would cut through the body ; and they told him they had no saws that were long enough, nor could men work into such a monstrous old stump for a great while ; but that they would go to work with it with their axes, and undertake to cut it down in two days, and stub up the root of it in two more. But William was for another way, which proved much better than all this ; for he was for silent work, that, if possible, he might catch some of the fellows in it : so he sets twelve men to it with large augers, to bore great holes into the side of the tree, to go almost through, but not quite through ; which holes were bored without noise ; and when they were done, he filled them all with gunpowder, stopping strong plugs, bolted crossways, into the holes, and then boring a slanting hole, of a less size, down into the greater hole, all which were filled with powder, and at once blown up. When they took fire, they made such a noise, and tore and split the tree in so many places, and in such a manner, that we could see plainly such another blast would demolish it ; and so it did. Thus at the second time we could, at two or three places, put our hands in them, and discovered the cheat, namely, that there was a cave or hole dug in the earth, from or through the bottom of the hollow, and that it had communication with another cave further in, where we heard the voices of several of the wild folks, calling and talking to one another.

When we came thus far, we had a great mind to get at them ; and William desired that three men might be given him with hand-grenadoes ; and he promised to go down first ; and boldly he did so ; for William, give him his due, had the heart of a lion.

They had pistols in their hands, and swords by their sides ; but, as they had taught the Indians before, by their stinkpots, the Indians returned them in their own kind ;

for they made such a smoke come up out of the entrance into the cave or hollow, that William and his three men were glad to come running out of the cave, and out of the tree too, for mere want of breath; and indeed they were almost stifled.

Never was a fortification so well defended, or assailants so many ways defeated. We were now for giving it over, and particularly I called William, and told him, I could not but laugh to see us spinning out our time here for nothing; that I could not imagine what we were doing; that it was certain the rogues that were in it were cunning to the last degree, and it would vex anybody to be so baulked by a few naked ignorant fellows; but still it was not worth our while to push it any further; nor was there anything, that I knew of, to be got by the conquest, when it was made; so that I thought it high time to give it over.

William acknowledged that what I said was just, and that there was nothing but our curiosity to be gratified in this attempt; and though, as he said, he was very desirous to have searched into the thing, yet he would not insist upon it; so we resolved to quit it, and come away; which we did. However, William said before he went he would have this satisfaction of them, viz., to burn down the tree, and stop up the entrance into the cave. And while he was doing this, the gunner told him he would have one satisfaction of the rogues; and this was, that he would make a mine of it, and see which way it had vent. Upon this he fetched two barrels of powder out of the ships, and placed them in the inside of the hollow of the cave, as far in as he durst go, to carry them, and then filling up the mouth of the cave where the tree stood, and ramming it sufficiently hard, leaving only a pipe or touch-hole, he gave fire to it, and stood at a distance, to see which way it would operate, when, on a sudden, he found the force of the powder burst its way out among some bushes on the other side of the

little hill I mentioned, and that it came roaring out there as out of the mouth of a cannon; immediately running thither, we saw the effects of the powder.

First, we saw that there was the other mouth of the cave, which the powder had so torn and opened, that the loose earth was so fallen in again, that nothing of shape could be discerned; but there we saw what was become of the garrison of Indians too, who had given us all this trouble; for some of them had no arms, some no legs, some no head, some lay half-buried in the rubbish of the mine, that is to say, in the loose earth that fell in; and in short, there was a miserable havoc made of them all; for we had good reason to believe, not one of them that were in the inside could escape, but rather were shot out of the mouth of the cave, like a bullet out of a gun.

We had now our full satisfaction of the Indians; but, in short, this was a losing voyage; for we had two men killed, one quite crippled, and five more wounded; we spent two barrels of powder, and eleven days' time, and all to get the understanding how to make an Indian mine, or how to keep garrison in a hollow tree; and with this wit, bought at this dear price, we came away, having taken in some fresh water, but got no fresh provisions.

We then considered what we should do to get back again to Madagascar. We were much about the latitude of the Cape of Good Hope, but had such a very long run, and were neither sure of meeting with fair winds, or with any land in the way, that we knew not what to think of it. William was our last resort in this case again, and he was very plain with us. Friend, says he to me, what occasion hast thou to run the venture of starving, merely for the pleasure of saying thou hast been where nobody ever was before? There are a great many places nearer home, of which thou mayest say the same thing at a less expense. I see no occasion thou hast of keeping thus far south any

longer than till you are sure you are to the west end of Java and Sunnatra; and then thou mayest stand away north towards Ceylon, and the coast of Coromandel and Madras, where thou mayest get both fresh water and fresh provisions; and to that part it is likely we may hold out well enough with the stores that we have already.

This was wholesome advice, and such as was not to be slighted; so we stood away to the west, keeping between the latitude of 31 and 36 degrees, and had very good weather and fair winds for about ten days' sail; by which time, by our ~~reckoning~~, we were clear of the isles, and might run away to the north. And as we cared not for purchase, we went merrily on for the coast of Ceylon, where we intended to touch to get fresh water again, and more provisions; and we had nothing material offered in this part of the voyage, only that we met with contrary winds, and were above a month in the passage.

We took in fresh water here, and some provisions, but did not much trouble ourselves about laying in any stores, our beef and hogs, which we got at Java, being not yet all gone by a good deal. We had a small skirmish on shore here with some of the people of the island.

I could never fully get out of our men what they did, they were so true to one another in their wickedness; but I understood in the main, that it was some barbarous thing they had done, and that they had like to have paid dear for it; for the men resented it to the last degree, and gathered in such numbers about them, that, had not sixteen more of our men, in another boat, gone all in the nick of time, just to rescue our first men, who were but eleven, and so fetch them off by main force, they had been all off, the inhabitants being no less than two or three hundred, armed with darts and lances, the usual weapons of the country, and which they are very dexterous at throwing, even so dexterous, that it was scarce credible; and had our men stood to

fight them, as some of them were bold enough to talk of, they had all been overwhelmed and killed. As it was, seventeen of our men were wounded, and some of them very dangerously. But they were more frightened than hurt too; for every one of them gave themselves over for dead men, believing the lances were poisoned. But William was our comfort here too; for, when two of our surgeons were of the same opinion, and told the men, foolishly enough, that they would die, William cheerfully went to work with them, and cured them all but one, who rather died by drinking some arrack punch, than of his wound, the excess of drinking throwing him into a fever.

We had enough of Ceylon, though some of our people were for going ashore again, sixty or seventy men together, to be revenged; but William persuaded them against it; and his reputation was so great among the men, as well as with us that were commanders, that he could influence them more than any of us.

He prevailed with them at last, and they were content to go away and leave them as they found them. In the first skirmish they killed between sixty and seventy men, and wounded a great many more: but they had nothing, and our people got nothing by it but the loss of one man's life, and the wounding sixteen more as above.

We were now at sea, and we stood away to the north for a while, to try if we could get a market for our spices; for we were very rich in nutmegs, but we ill knew what to do with them: the only way we had for it was to stand away for Goa, and trade, if we could, for our spices with the Portuguese factory there. Accordingly, we sailed almost thither, for we had made land two days before, and, being in the latitude of Goa, were standing in fair for Marmagoon, on the head of Salsat, at the going up to Goa, when I called to the men at the helm to bring the ship to, and bid the pilot go away N.N.W. till we came out of sight of the

shore; when William and I called a council, as we used to do upon emergencies, what course we should take to trade there, and not be discovered; and we concluded at length, that we would not go thither at all; but that William, with one of the other surgeons and such trusty fellows only as could be depended upon, should go in the sloop to Surat, which was still farther northward, and trade there as merchants, with such of the English factory as they could find to be for their turn.

They had no difficulty at all with the merchants; for the prospect they had of gain made them not at all inquisitive, nor did they make the least discovery of the sloop; and as to the selling them spices which were fetched so far from thence, it seems it was not so much a novelty there as we believed; for the Portuguese had frequently vessels which came from Macao in China, who brought spices, which they bought of the Chinese traders, who again frequently dealt among the Dutch Spice Islands, and received spices in exchange for such goods as they carried from China.

This might be called, indeed, the only trading voyage we had made; and now we were really very rich; and it came now naturally before us to consider whither we should go next. Our proper delivery port, as we ought to have called it, was at Madagascar, in the bay of Mangahelly; but William took me by myself into the cabin of the sloop one day, and told me he wanted to talk seriously with me a little; so we shut ourselves in, and William began with me,

Wilt thou give me leave, says William, to talk plainly with thee upon thy present circumstances and thy future prospect of living; and wilt thou promise, on thy word, to take nothing ill of me?

With all my heart, said I, William; I have always found your advice good; and your designs have not only been well laid, but your counsel has been very lucky to us; and therefore, say what you will, I promise you I will not take it ill.

But that is not all my demand, says William ; if thou dost not like what I am going to propose to thee, thou shalt promise me not to make it public among the men.

I will not, William, says I, upon my word ; and swore to him too very heartily.

Why then, says William, I have but one thing more to article with thee about, and that is, that thou wilt consent, that, if thou dost not approve of it for thyself, thou wilt yet consent that I shall put so much of it in practice as relates to myself and my new comrade doctor, so that it be in nothing to thy detriment and loss.

In anything, says I, William, but leaving me, I will ; but I cannot part with you upon any terms whatever.

Well, says William, I am not designing to part from thee, unless it is thy own doing ; but assure me in all these points, and I will tell my mind freely.

So I promised him everything he desired of me, in the most solemn manner possible, and so seriously and frankly withal, that William made no scruple to open his mind to me.

Why then, in the first place, says William, shall I ask thee if thou dost not think thou and all thy men are rich enough, and have really gotten as much wealth together (by whatsoever way it has been gotten, that is not the question), as ye all know what to do with ?

Why, truly, William, said I, thou art pretty right ; I think we have had pretty good luck.

Well then, says William, I would ask, whether, if thou hast gotten enough, thou hast any thought of leaving off this trade ; for most people leave off trading when they are satisfied with getting, and are rich enough ; for nobody trades for the sake of trading ; much less do any men rob for the sake of thieving.

Well, William, says I, now I perceive what it is thou art

driving at: I warrant you, says I, you begin to hanker after home.

Why, truly; says William, thou hast said it, and so I hope thou dost too. It is natural for most men that are abroad to desire to come home again at last, especially when they are grown rich, and when they are (as thou ownest thyself to be) rich enough, and so rich, as they know not what to do with more, if they had it.

Well, William, said I, but now you think you have laid your preliminary at first so home, that I should have nothing to say; that is, that when I had got money enough, it would be natural to think of going home; but you have not explained what you mean by home; and there you and I shall differ. Why, man, I am at home; here is my habitation; I never had any other in my lifetime: I was a kind of a charity-school boy; so that I can have no desire of going anywhere for being rich or poor, for I have nowhere to go.

Why, says William, looking a little confused, art not thou an Englishman?

Yes, says I, I think so: you see I speak English: but I came out of England a child, and never was in it but once since I was a man; and then I was cheated and imposed upon, and used so ill, that I care not if I never see it more.

Why, hast thou no relations or friends there? says he: no acquaintance? none that thou hast any kindness, or any remains of respect for?

Not I, William, said I; not one, more than I have in the court of the Great Mogul.

Nor any kindness for the country where thou wast born? says William.

Not I, any more than for the island of Madagascar, nor so much neither; for that has been a fortunate island to me more than once, as thou knowest, William, said I.

William was quite stunned at my discourse, and held his peace; and I said to him, Go on, William; what hast thou to say farther? for I hear you have some project in your head, says I; come, let's have it out.

Nay, says William, thou hast put me to silence, and all I had to say is overthrown; all my projects are come to nothing, and gone.

Well, but, William, said I, let me hear what they were; for though it is so that what I have to aim at does not look your way, and though I have no relation, no friend, no acquaintance in England, yet I do not say I like this roving, cruising life so well as never to give it over; let me hear if thou canst propose to me anything beyond it.

Certainly, friend, says William, very gravely, there is something beyond it; and lifting up his hands, he seemed very much affected, and I thought I saw tears standing in his eyes; but I, that was too hardened a wretch to be moved with these things, laughed at him. What! says I, you mean death, I warrant you; don't you? that is beyond this trade. Why, when it comes, it comes; then we are all provided for.

Aye, says William, that is true; but it would be better that some things were thought on before that came.

Thought on! says I; what signifies thinking of it? To think of death, is to die; and to be always thinking of it, is to be all one's life long a-dying: it is time enough to think of it when it comes.

You will easily believe I was well qualified for a pirate, that could talk thus; but let me leave it upon record, for the remark of other hardened rogues like myself. My conscience gave me a pang that I had never felt before, when I said — What signifies thinking of it? and told me, I should one day think of these words with a sad heart; but the time of my reflection was not yet come; so I went on.

Says William, very seriously, I must tell thee, friend, I

am sorry to hear thee talk so: they that never think of dying, often die without thinking of it.

I carried on the jesting way a while farther, and said — Prithee, do not talk of dying; how do we know we shall ever die? and began to laugh.

I need not answer thee to that, says William; it is not my place to reprove thee who art commander over me here; but I had rather thou wouldst talk otherwise of death; it is a coarse thing.

Say anything to me, William, said I, I will take it kindly. I began now to be very much moved at his discourse.

Says William (tears running down his face), it is because men live as if they were never to die, that so many die before they know how to live; but it was not death that I meant, when I said, — That there was something to be thought of beyond this way of living.

Why, William, said I, what was that?

It was repentance, says he.

Why, says I, did you ever know a pirate repent?

At this he started a little, and returned — At the gallows I have known one repent, and I hope thou wilt be the second.

He spoke this very affectionately, with an appearance of concern for me.

Well, William, says I, I thank you, and I am not so senseless of these things, perhaps, as I make myself seem to be; but come, let me hear your proposal.

My proposal, says William, is for thy good, as well as my own. We may put an end to this kind of life, and repent; and I think the fairest occasion offers for both, at this very time, that ever did, or ever will, or indeed can happen again.

Look you, William, says I, let me have your proposal for putting an end to our present way of living first, for that is

the case before us, and you and I will talk of the other afterward. I am not so insensible, said I, as you may think me to be; but let us get out of this wretched condition we are in first.

Nay, says William, thou art in the right there; we must never talk of repenting while we continue pirates.

Well, says I, William, that it is what I meant; for if we must not reform, as well as be sorry for what is done, I have no notion what repentance means; indeed, at best I know little of the matter; but the nature of the thing seems to tell me, that the first step we have to take, is to break off this wretched course; and I'll begin there with you, with all my heart.

I could see by his countenance that William was thoroughly pleased with the offer; and if he had tears in his eyes before, he had more now; but it was from a quite different passion; for he was so swallowed up with joy he could not speak.

Come, William, says I, thou showest me plain enough thou hast an honest meaning. Dost thou think it is practicable for us to put an end to our unhappy way of living here, and get off?

Yes, says he, I think it is very practicable for me; whether it is for thee, or no, that will depend upon thyself.

Well, says I, I give you my word, that as I have commanded you all along, from the time I first took you on board, so you shall command me from this hour, and everything you direct me I'll do.

Wilt thou leave it all to me? Dost thou say this freely?

Yes, William, says I, freely; and I'll perform it faithfully.

Why then, says William, my scheme is this:—We are now at the mouth of the gulf of Persia; we have sold so much of our cargo here at Surat, that we have money enough: send me away for Bassora with the sloop, laden with the China goods we have on board, which will make

another good cargo, and I'll warrant thee I'll find means among the English and the Dutch merchants there, to lodge a quantity of goods and money also as a merchant, so as we will be able to have recourse to it again upon any occasion; and when I come home, we will contrive the rest; and in the meantime do you bring the ship's crew to take a resolution to go to Madagascar, as soon as I return.

I told him I thought he need not go so far as Bassora, but might run into Gomboroon, or to Ormus, and pretend the same business.

No, says he, I cannot act with the same freedom there, because the Company's factories are there, and I may be laid hold of there on pretence of interloping.

Well, but, said I, you may go to Ormus then; for I am loath to part with you so long as to go to the bottom of the Persian Gulf. He returned, that I should leave it to him to do as he should see cause.

We had taken a large sum of money at Surat; so that we had near a hundred thousand pounds in money at our command; but on board the great ship we had still a great deal more.

I ordered him publicly to keep the money on board which he had, and to buy up with it a quantity of ammunition, if he could get it, and so to furnish us for new exploits; and in the meantime I resolved to get a quantity of gold, and some jewels which I had on board the great ship, and place them so that I might carry them off without notice, as soon as he came back; and so, according to William's directions, I left him to go the voyage, and I went on board the great ship, in which we had indeed an immense treasure.

We waited no less than two months for William's return; and indeed I began to be very uneasy about William, sometimes thinking he had abandoned me, and that he might

- have used the same artifice to have engaged the other men to comply with him, and so they were gone away together; and it was but three days before his return that I was just upon the point of resolving to go away to Madagascar, and give him over; but the old surgeon, who went with William in the sloop to Surat, persuaded me against that; for which good advice, and his apparent faithfulness in what he had been trusted with, I made him a party to my design, and he proved very honest.

At length William came back, to our inexpressible joy, and brought a great many necessary things with him; as, particularly, he brought sixty barrels of powder, some iron shot, and about thirty tons of lead; also he brought a great deal of provisions; and, in a word, William gave me a public account of his voyage, in the hearing of whoever happened to be upon the quarter-deck, that no suspicions might be found about us.

- After all was done, William moved, that he might go up again, and that I would go with him; named several things which we had on board that he could not sell there; and particularly told us, he had been obliged to leave several things there, the caravans not being come in; and that he had engaged to come back again with goods.

This was what I wanted. The men were eager for his going, and particularly because he told them they might load the sloop back with rice and provisions; but I seemed backward to going; when the old surgeon stood up, and persuaded me to go, and with many arguments pressed me to it; as, particularly, if I did not go, there would be no order, and several of the men might drop away, and perhaps betray all the rest; and that they should not think it safe for the sloop to go again, if I did not go; and to urge me to it, he offered himself to go with me.

Upon these considerations, I seemed to be overpersuaded to go; and all the company seemed the better satisfied

when I had consented; and accordingly we took all the powder, lead, and iron out of the sloop into the great ship, and all the other things that were for the ship's use, and put in some bales of spices, and casks or frails of cloves, in all about seven tons, and some other goods, among the bales of which I had conveyed all my private treasure, which, I assure you, was of no small value; and away I went.

At going off, I called a council of all the officers in the ship, to consider in what place they should wait for me, and how long; and we appointed the ship to stay eight-and-twenty days at a little island on the Arabian side of the gulf; and that, if the sloop did not come in that time, they should sail to another island to the west of that place, and wait there fifteen days more; and then, if the sloop did not come, they should conclude some accident must have happened, and the rendezvous should be at Madagascar.

Being thus resolved, we left the ship, which both William and I, and the surgeon, never intended to see any more. We steered directly for the gulf, and through to Bassora, or Balsara. This city of Balsara lies at some distance from the place where our sloop lay, and the river not being very safe, and we but ill acquainted with it, having but an ordinary pilot, we went on shore at a village where some merchants live, and which is very populous, for the sake of small vessels riding there.

Here we stayed and traded three or four days, landing all our bales and spices, and indeed the whole cargo, that was of any considerable value; which we chose to do, rather than go up immediately to Balsara, till the project we had laid was put in execution.

After we had bought several goods, and were preparing to buy several others, the boat being on shore with twelve men, myself, William, the surgeon, and one fourth man, whom we had singled out, we contrived to send a Turk,

just at the dusk of the evening, with a letter to the boat-swain; and giving the fellow a charge to run with all possible speed, we stood at a small distance, to observe the event. The contents of the letter were thus written by the old doctor.

“BOATSWAIN THOMAS,

We are all betrayed. Make off instantly with the boat, and get on board, or you are all lost. The captain, William the quaker, and George the reformed, are seized and carried away: I am escaped, and hid, but cannot stir out; if I do, I am a dead man. As soon as you are on board, cut or slip, and make sail for your lives. Adieu.

R. S.”

We stood undiscovered, as above, it being the dusk of the evening, and saw the Turk deliver the letter; and in three minutes we saw all the men hurry into the boat, and put off; and no sooner were they on board than they took the hint, as we supposed; for the next morning they were out of sight, and we never heard tale or tidings of them since.

We were now in a good place, and in very good circumstances; for we passed for merchants of Persia.

It is not material to record here what a mass of ill-gotten wealth we had got together: it will be more to the purpose to tell you, that I began to be sensible of the crime of getting of it in such a manner as I had done; that I had very little satisfaction in the possession of it; and, as I told William, I had no expectation of keeping it, nor much desire.

I should have observed, that we had new clothed ourselves here after the Persian manner, in long vests of silk, a gown or robe of English crimson cloth, very fine and handsome, and let our beards grow so after the Persian

manner, that we passed for Persian merchants, in view only, though, by the way, we could not understand or speak one word of the language of Persia, or indeed of any other but English and Dutch; and of the latter I understood very little.

William had struck so deep into my unthinking temper, with hinting to me that there was something beyond all this; that the present time was the time of enjoyment, but that the time of account approached; that the work that remained was gentler than the labour past, viz., repentance, and that it was high time to think of it: I say these, and such thoughts as these, engrossed my hours, and, in a word, I grew very sad.

As to the wealth I had, which was immensely great, it was all like dirt under my feet; I had no value for it, no peace in the possession of it, no great concern about me for the leaving of it.

William had perceived my thoughts to be troubled, and my mind heavy and oppressed for some time; and one evening, in one of our cool walks, I began with him about the leaving our effects. William was a wise and wary man; and indeed all the prudentials of my conduct had for a long time been owing to his advice, and so now all the methods for preserving our effects, and even ourselves, lay upon him; and he had been telling me of some of the measures he had been taking for our making homeward, and for the security of our wealth, when I took him very short. Why, William, says I, dost thou think we shall ever be able to reach Europe with all this cargo that we have about us?

Aye, says William, without doubt, as well as other merchants with theirs, as long as it is not publicly known what quantity or of what value our cargo consists.

Why, William, says I smiling, do you think that, if there is a God above, as you have so long been telling me there

is, and that we must give an account to him; I say, do you think, if he be a righteous judge, he will let us escape thus with the plunder, as we may call it; of so many innocent people, nay, I might say nations, and not call us to an account for it before we can get to Europe, where we pretend to enjoy it?

William appeared struck and surprised at the question, and made no answer for a great while: and I repeated the question, adding that it was not to be expected.

After a little pause, says William, thou hast started a very weighty question, and I can make no positive answer to it; but I will state it thus: first, it is true that, if we consider the justice of God, we have no reason to expect any protection; but as the ordinary ways of Providence are out of the common road of human affairs, so we may hope for mercy still upon our repentance, and we know not how good he may be to us; so we are to act as if we rather depended upon the last, I mean the merciful part, than claimed the first, which must produce nothing but judgment and vengeance.

But hark ye, William, says I, the nature of repentance, as you hinted once to me, included reformation; and we can never reform; how then can we repent?

Why can we never reform? says William.

Because, said I, we cannot restore what we have taken away by rapine and spoil.

It is true, says William, we can never do that; for we can never come to the knowledge of the owners.

But what then must be done with our wealth, said I, the effects of plunder and rapine? If we keep it, we continue to be robbers and thieves; and if we quit it, we cannot do justice with it, for we cannot restore it to the right owners.

Nay, says William, the answer to it is short. To quit what we have, and do it here, is to throw it away to those who have no claim to it, and to divest ourselves of it, but to

do no right with it; whereas we ought to keep it carefully together, with a resolution to do what right with it we are able; and who knows what opportunity Providence may put into our hands, to do justice, at least, to some of those we have injured; so we ought, at least, to leave it to him, and go on. As it is, without doubt, our present business is to go to some place of safety, where we may wait his will.

This resolution of William was very satisfying to me indeed, as, the truth is, all he said, and at all times, was solid and good; and had not William thus, as it were, quieted my mind, I think verily, I was so alarmed at the just reason I had to expect vengeance from heaven upon me for my ill-gotten wealth, that I should have run away from it as the devil's goods, that I had nothing to do with, that did not belong to me, and that I had no right to keep, and was in certain danger of being destroyed for.

However, William settled my mind to more prudent steps than these, and he concluded that I ought, however, to proceed to a place of safety, and leave the event to God Almighty's mercy. But this I must leave upon record, that I had, from this time, no joy of the wealth I had got; I looked upon it as stolen, and so indeed the greatest part of it was; I looked upon it as a hoard of other men's goods, which I had robbed the innocent owners of, and which I ought, in a word, to be hanged for here, and damned for hereafter. And now, indeed, I began sincerely to hate myself for a dog; a wretch, that had been a thief and a murderer; a wretch, that was in a condition which nobody was ever in; for I had robbed, and though I had the wealth by me, yet it was impossible I should ever make any restitution; and upon this account it ran in my head that I could never repent, for that repentance could not be sincere without restitution, and therefore must of necessity be damned; there was no room for me to escape. I went about with my heart full of these thoughts, little better

than a distracted fellow; in short, running headlong into the most dreadful despair, and premeditating nothing but how to rid myself out of the world; and, indeed, the devil, if such things are of the devil's immediate doing, followed his work very close with me; and nothing lay upon my mind for several days, but to shoot myself into the head with my pistol.

But William entered upon a very long and serious discourse with me about the nature of my circumstances, and about repentance; that it ought to be attended, indeed, with a deep abhorrence of the crime that I had to charge myself with; but that to despair of God's mercy was no part of repentance, but putting myself into the condition of the devil; indeed, that I must apply myself with a sincere humble confession of my crime, to ask pardon of God, whom I had offended, and cast myself upon his mercy, resolving to be willing to make restitution, if ever it should please God to put it in my power, even to the utmost of what I had in the world; and this, he told me, was the method which he had resolved upon himself; and in this, he told me, he had found comfort.

After almost three months' stay at Bassora, we hired boats, and went up to Bagdat, or Babylon, on the river Tigris, or rather Euphrates. We had a very considerable cargo of goods with us, and therefore made a great figure there, and were received with respect; we had, in particular, two-and-forty bales of Indian stuffs of sundry sorts, silks, muslins, and fine chintz: we had fifteen bales of very fine China silks, and seventy packs, or bales, of spices, particularly cloves and nutmegs, with other goods.

I travelled this journey, careless to the last degree of my goods or wealth, believing that, as I came by it all by rapine and violence, God would direct that it should be taken from me again in the same manner; and, indeed, I think I might say, I was very willing it should be so; but, as I had a

merciful protector above me, so I had a most faithful steward, counsellor, partner, or whatever I might call him, who was my guide, my pilot, my governor, my everything, and took care both of me, and of all we had; and though he had never been in any of these parts of the world, yet he took the care of all upon him; and in about nine-and-fifty days we arrived from Bassora, at the mouth of the river Tigris or Euphrates, through the desert, and through Aleppo, to Alexandria, or, as we call it, Scanderoon, in the Levant.

We stayed here some time after they were gone, till at length, not being thoroughly resolved whither to go till then, a Venetian ship touched at Cyprus, and put in at Scanderoon to look for freight home. We took the hint, and, bargaining for our passage, and the freight of our goods, we embarked for Venice, where; in two-and-twenty days, we arrived safe with all our treasure, and with such a cargo, take our goods, and our money, and our jewels together, as, I believed, was never brought into the city by two single men, since the state of Venice had a being.

Here we converted all our effects into money, settled our abode as for a considerable time, and William and I, maintaining an inviolable friendship and fidelity to one another, lived like two brothers: we neither had or sought any separate interest; we conversed seriously and gravely, and upon the subject of our repentance continually; we never changed, that is, to say, so as to leave off our Armenian garbs; and we were called, at Venice, the two Grecians.

I have been two or three times going to give a detail of our wealth; but it will appear incredible; and we had the greatest difficulty in the world how to conceal it, being justly apprehensive lest we might be assassinated in that country for our treasure. At length William told me he began to think now that he must never see England any more, and that indeed he did not much concern himself about it; but seeing we had gained so great wealth, and

having some poor relations in England, he said he would, if I was willing, write to know if they were living, and to know what condition they were in; and if he found such of them were alive as he had some thoughts about, he would, with my consent, send them something to better their condition.

I consented most willingly; and accordingly William wrote to a sister and an uncle, and in about five weeks' time received an answer from them both, directed to himself, under cover of a hard Armenian name that he had given himself, viz., Seignior Constantine Alexion of Ispahani, at Venice.

It was a very moving letter he received from his sister, who, after the most passionate expressions of joy to hear he was alive, seeing she had long ago had an account that he was murdered by the pirates in the West Indies, entreats him to let her know what circumstances he was in; tells him she was not in any capacity to do anything considerable for him, but that he should be welcome to her with all her heart; that she was left a widow, with four children, but kept a little shop in the Minories, by which she made shift to maintain her family; and that she had sent him five pounds, lest he should want money, in a strange country, to bring him home.

I could see the letter brought tears out of his eyes, as he read it; and indeed, when he showed it me, and the little bill for five pounds, upon an English merchant in Venice, it brought tears out of my eyes too.

After we had been both affected sufficiently with the tenderness and kindness of this letter, he turns to me; says he, What shall I do for this poor woman? I mused awhile; at last, says I, I will tell you what you shall do for her: she has sent you five pounds, and she has four children, and herself, that is five: such a sum, from a poor woman in her circumstances, is as much as five thousand pounds is to

us : you shall send her a bill of exchange for five thousand pounds English money, and bid her conceal her surprise at it till she hears from you again ; but bid her leave off her shop, and go and take a house somewhere in the country, not far off from London, and stay there, in a moderate figure, till she hears from you again.

Now, says William, I perceive by it that you have some thoughts of venturing into England.

Indeed, William, said I, you mistake me ; but it presently occurred to me that you should venture ; for what have you done that you may not be seen there ? Why should I desire to keep you from your relations, purely to keep me company ?

William looked very affectionately upon me : Nay, says he, we have embarked together so long, and come together so far, I am resolved I will never part with thee as long as I live, go where thou wilt, or stay where thou wilt ; and as for my sister, said William, I cannot send her such a sum of money ; for whose is all this money we have ? It is most of it thine.

No, William, said I, there is not a penny of it mine but what is yours too ; and I won't have anything but an equal share with you ; and therefore you shall send it to her : if not, I will send it.

Why, says William, it will make the poor woman distracted ; she will be so surprised, she will go out of her wits. Well, said I, William, you may do it prudently : send her a bill backed of a hundred pounds, and bid her expect more in a post or two, and that you will send her enough to live on without keeping shop ; and then send her more.

Accordingly William sent her a very kind letter, with a bill upon a merchant in London for a hundred and sixty pounds, and bid her comfort herself with the hope that he should be able in a little time to send her more. About ten days after, he sent her another bill of five hundred and forty

pounds; and a post or two after, another for three hundred pounds; making in all a thousand pounds; and told her he would send her sufficient to enable her to leave off her shop, and directed her to take a house as above.

He waited then till he received an answer to all the three letters, with an account that she had received the money, and, which I did not expect, that she had not let any other acquaintance know that she had received a shilling from anybody, or so much as that he was alive, and would not, till she heard again.

When he showed me this letter, Well, William, said I, his woman is fit to be trusted with life or anything: send her the rest of the five thousand pounds; and I'll venture to England with you, to this woman's house, whenever you will.

In a word, we sent her five thousand pounds in good bills; and she received them very punctually, and in a little time sent her brother word, that she had pretended to her uncle that she was sickly, and could not carry on the trade any longer; and that she had taken a large house about four miles from London, under pretence of letting lodgings for her livelihood; and, in short, intimated as if she understood that he intended to come over to be *incognito*, assuring him he should be as retired as he pleased.

This was opening the very door for us that we thought had been effectually shut for this life; and, in a word, we resolved to venture, but to keep ourselves entirely concealed, both as to name and every other circumstance; and accordingly William sent his sister word how kindly he took her prudent steps, and that she had guessed right, that he desired to be retired, and that he obliged her not to increase her figure, but live private, till she might perhaps see him.

He was going to send the letter away; Come, William said I, you shan't send her an empty letter: tell her yo

have a friend coming with you, that must be as retired as yourself; and I'll send her five thousand pounds more.

So, in short, we made this poor woman's family rich; and yet, when it came to the point, my heart failed me, and I durst not venture; and for William, he would not stir without me; and so we stayed about two years after this, considering what we should do.

You may think, perhaps, that I was very prodigal of my ill-gotten goods, thus to load a stranger with my bounty, and give a gift like a prince to one that had been able to merit nothing of me, or indeed know me; but my condition ought to be considered in this case: though I had money to profusion, yet I was perfectly destitute of a friend in the world, to have the least obligation or assistance from, or knew not either where to dispose or trust anything I had while I lived, or whom to give it to if I died. As to the wealth I had, I looked upon it as nothing; I resolved to set it apart to any such opportunity of doing justice, as God should put into my hand; and a miraculous opportunity I had afterwards of applying some parts of it to preserve a ruined family, whom I had plundered.

When I had reflected upon the manner of my getting of it, I was sometimes for giving it all to charitable uses, as a debt due to mankind, though I was no Roman Catholic, and not at all of the opinion that it would purchase me any repose to my soul; but I thought, as it was got by a general plunder, and which I could make no satisfaction for, it was due to the community, and I ought to distribute it, for the general good. But still I was at a loss how, and where, and by whom, to settle this charity, not daring to go home to my own country, lest some of my comrades, strolled home, should see and detect me, and, for the very spoil of my money, or the purchase of his own pardon, betray and expose me to an untimely end.

Being thus destitute, I say, of a friend, I pitched thus upon William's sister ; the kind step of her's, to her brother, whom she thought to be in distress; signifying a generous mind, and a charitable disposition ; and, having resolved to make her the object of my first bounty, I did not doubt but I should purchase something of a refuge for myself, and a kind of a centre, to which I should tend in my future actions ; for really a man that has a subsistence, and no residence, no place that has a magnetic influence upon his affections, is in one of the most odd, uneasy conditions in the world ; nor is it in the power of all his money to make it up to him.

It was, as I told you, two years and upwards that we remained at Venice, and thereabout, in the greatest hesitation imaginable, irresolute and unfixed to the last degree. William's sister importuned us daily to come to England, and wondered we should not dare to trust her, whom we had to such a degree obliged to be faithful ; and, in a manner, lamented her being suspected by us.

At last I began to incline ; and I said to William, Come, brother William, said I (for, ever since our discourse at Balsora, I called him brother), if you will agree to two or three things with me, I'll go home to England with all my heart.

Says William, Let me know what they are.

Why, first, says I, you shall not disclose yourself to any of your relations in England but your sister, no, not to one.

Secondly, We will not shave off our moustaches or beards, (for we had all along worn our beards after the Grecian manner), nor leave off our long wests, that we may pass for Grecians and foreigners.

Thirdly, That we shall never speak English in public before anybody, your sister excepted.

Fourthly, That we will always live together, and for brothers.

William said he would agree to them all with all his heart; but that the not speaking English would be the hardest; but he would do his best for that too; so, in a word, we agreed to go from Venice to Naples, where we converted a large sum of money into bales of silk, left a large sum in a merchant's hands at Venice, and another considerable sum at Naples, and took bills of exchange for a great deal too; and yet we came with such a cargo to London as few Armenian merchants had done for some years; for we loaded in two ships seventy-three bales of thrown silk, besides thirteen bales of wrought silks, from the duchy of Milan, shipped at Genoa; with all which I arrived safely, and some time after married my faithful protectress, William's sister, with whom I am much more happy than I deserve.

And now, having so plainly told you that I am come to England, after I have so boldly owned what life I have led abroad, it is time to leave off and say no more for the present, lest some should be willing to inquire too nicely after your old friend the Captain.

THE LIFE

COLONEL JACK.

SEEING my life has been such a chequer-work of nature, and that I am able now to look back upon it from a safer distance than is ordinarily the fate of the clan to which I once belonged ; I think my history may find a place in the world, as well as some, which I see are every day read with pleasure, though they have in them nothing so diverting or instructing as I believe mine will appear to be.

My original may be as high as anybody's for aught I know, for my mother kept very good company, but that part belongs to her story more than to mine ; all I know of it is by oral tradition. My nurse told me my mother was a gentlewoman, that my father was a man of quality, and she (my nurse) had a good piece of money given her to take me off his hands.

My father, it seems, gave my nurse something more than was agreed for, at my mother's request, upon her solemn promise that she would use me well, and let me be put to school ; and charged her, that if I lived to come to any business, capable to understand the meaning of it, she should always take care to bid me remember that I was a gentle-

man. And this, he said, was all the education he would desire of her for me; for he did not doubt, he said, but that some time or other the very hint would inspire me with thoughts suitable to my birth, and that I would certainly act like a gentleman, if I believed myself to be so.

My nurse was as honest to the engagement she had entered into as could be expected from one of her employment, and particularly as honest as her circumstances would give her leave to be; for she bred me up very carefully with her own son, and with another boy like me, whom she had taken upon the same terms.

My name was John, as she told me, but neither she or I knew anything of a surname that belonged to me; so I was left to call myself Mr. Anything, what I pleased, as fortune and better circumstances should give occasion.

It happened that her own son (for she had a little boy of her own, about one year older than I) was called John too; and about two years after she took another boy to keep ~~she~~ she did me, and his name was John too.

As we were all Johns we were all Jacks, and soon came to be called so; for at that part of the town where we had our breeding, viz., near Goodman's-fields, the Johns are generally called Jack; but my nurse, who may be allowed to distinguish her own son a little from the rest, would have him called captain, because forsooth he was the eldest.

I was provoked at having this boy called captain, and I cried, and told my nurse I would be called captain; for she told me I was a gentleman, and I would be a captain, that I would: the good woman, to keep the peace, told me, ay, ay, I was a gentleman, and therefore I should be above a captain, for I should be a colonel, and that was a great deal better than a captain.

Well, I was hushed indeed with this for the present, but not thoroughly pleased, till a little while after I heard her tell her own boy that I was a gentleman, and therefore he

must call me colonel; at which her boy fell a-crying, and he would be called colonel. That part pleased me to the life, that he should cry to be called colonel, for then I was satisfied that it was above a captain: so universally is ambition seated in the minds of men, that not a beggar-boy but has his share of it.

So here was Colonel Jack, and Captain Jack; as for the third boy, he was called Major Jack.

Major Jack was a merry, facetious, pleasant boy, had a good share of wit, especially off-hand wit, as they call it; was full of jests and good humour, and, as I often said, had something of a gentleman in him.

As for your humble servant, Colonel Jack, he was a poor unhappy tractable dog, willing enough, and capable too, to learn anything, if he had had any but the devil for his schoolmaster: he set out into the world so early, that when he began to do evil, he understood nothing of the wickedness of it, nor what he had to expect for it.

I was wary and dexterous at my trade, and was not so often caught as my fellow rogues, I mean while I was a boy, and never after I came to be a man, no, not once for twenty-six years, being so old in the trade, and still unchanged, as you shall hear.

I was almost ten years old, the captain eleven, and the major about eight, when the good woman my nurse died. Her husband was a seaman, and had been drowned a little before in the Gloucester frigate, one of the king's ships which was cast away going to Scotland with the Duke of York, in the time of King Charles II., and the honest woman dying very poor, the parish was obliged to bury her; when the three young Jacks attended her corpse, and I the colonel (for we all passed for her own children) was chief mourner, the captain, who was the eldest son, going back very sick.

The good woman being dead, we, the three Jacks, were

turned loose to the world. As to the parish providing for us, we did not trouble ourselves much about that; we rambled about all three together, and the people in Rosemary-lane and Ratcliff, and that way, knowing us pretty well, we got victuals easily enough, and without much begging.

Thus we all made shift, though we were so little, to keep from starving; and as for lodging, we lay in the summer-time about the watch-houses, and on bulkheads, and shop-doors, where we were known; as for a bed, we knew nothing what belonged to it for many years after my nurse died; and in winter we got into the ash-holes, and nealing-arches in the glass-house, called Dallow's Glass-house, in Rosemary-lane, or at another glass-house in Ratcliff-high-way.

In this manner we lived for some years; and here we failed not to fall among a gang of naked, ragged rogues like ourselves, wicked as they well could be at so early an age, and ripe for all the other parts of mischief that suited them as they advanced in years.

Captain Jack in this time fell into bad company, and went away from us, and it was a good while before we ever heard tale or tidings of him, till about half a year, I think, or thereabouts, I understood he was got among a gang of kidnappers, as they were then called, being a sort of wicked fellows that used to spirit people's childrey away; that is, snatch them up in the dark, and, stopping their mouths, carry them to houses where they had rogues ready to receive them, and so carry them on board of ships bound to Virginia, and sell them.

This was a trade, that horrid Jack, for so I called him when we were grown up, was very fit for, especially the violent part; for if a little child got into his clutches, he would stop the breath of it, instead of stopping its mouth, and never troubled his head with the child's being almost

strangled, so he did but keep it from making a noise. There was, it seems, some villanous thing done by this gang about that time, whether a child was murdered among them, or a child otherwise injured; but it seems it was a child of an eminent citizen, and the parent somehow or other got a scent of the thing, so that they recovered their child, though in a sad condition, and almost killed. I was too young, and it was too long ago, for me to remember the whole story, but they were all taken up and sent to Newgate, and Captain Jack among the rest, though he was but young, for he was not then much above thirteen years old.

What punishment was inflicted upon the rogues of that gang I cannot tell now, but the captain being but a lad, was ordered to be three times soundly whipt at Bridewell; my lord mayor, or the recorder, telling him it was done in pity to him, to keep him from the gallows, not forgetting to tell him that he had a hanging look, and bid him have a care on that very account; so remarkable was the captain's countenance, even so young, and which he heard of afterwards on many occasions. When he was in Bridewell I heard of his misfortune, and the major and I went to see him, for this was the first news we heard of what became of him.

The very day that we went he was called out to be corrected, as they called it, according to his sentence; and as it was ordered to be done soundly, so indeed they were true to the sentence; for the alderman, who was the president of Bridewell, and who I think they called Sir William Turner, held preaching to him about how young he was, and what pity it was such a youth should come to be hanged, and a great deal more, how he should take warning by it, and how wicked a thing it was, that they should steal away poor innocent children, and the like; and all this while the man with a blue badge on lashed him most

unmercifully, for he was not to leave off till Sir William knocked with a little hammer on the table.

The poor captain stamped and danced, and roared out like a mad boy; and I must confess I was frightened almost to death; for though I could not come near enough, being but a poor boy, to see how he was handled, yet I saw him afterwards, with his back all wealed with the lashes, and in several places bloody, and thought I should have died with the sight of it; but I grew better acquainted with those things afterwards.

I did what I could to comfort the poor captain, when I got leave to come to him. But the worst was not over with him, for he was to have two more such whippings before they had done with him; and indeed they scourged him so severely, that they made him sick of the kidnapping trade for a great while; but he fell in among them again, and kept among them as long as that trade lasted, for it ceased in a few years afterwards.

The major and I, though very young, had sensible impressions made upon us for some time by the severe usage of the captain, and it might be very well said we were corrected as well as he, though not concerned in the crime; but it was within the year that the major, a good-conditioned easy boy, was wheedled away by a couple of young rogues that frequented the glass-house apartments, to take a walk with them, as they were pleased to call it; the gentlemen were very well matched, the major was about twelve years old, and the oldest of the two that led him out was not above fourteen; the business was to go to Bartholomew fair—was, in short, to pick pockets.

The major knew nothing of the trade, and therefore was to do nothing; but they promised him a share for all that, as if he had been as expert as themselves; so away they went. The two dexterous young rogues managed it so well, that by eight o'clock at night they came back to our dusty

quarters at the glass-house, and, sitting them down in a corner, they began to share their spoil, by the light of the glass-house fire. The major lugged out the goods, for, as fast as they made any purchase, they unloaded themselves, and gave all to him, that, if they had been taken, nothing might be found about them.

It was a lucky day to them, the devil certainly assisting them to find their prey, that he might draw in a young gamester, and encourage him to the undertaking, who had been made backward before by the misfortune of the captain.

The next day the major and his comrades went abroad again, and were still successful; nor did any disaster attend them, for I know not how many months; and, by frequent imitation and direction, Major Jack became as dexterous a pickpocket as any of them, and went on through a long variety of fortunes, too long to enter upon now, because I am hastening to my own story, which at present is the main thing I have to set down.

The major failed not to let me see every day the effects of his new prosperity, and was so bountiful as frequently to throw me a tester, sometimes a shilling; and I might perceive that he began to have clothes on his back, to leave the ash-hole, having gotten a society lodging (of which I may give an explanation by itself on another occasion), and which was more, he took upon him to wear a shirt, which was what neither he or I had ventured to do for three years before, and upward.

‘ But I observed all this while, that though Major Jack was so prosperous, and had thrived so well, and notwithstanding he was very kind, and even generous to me, in giving me money upon many occasions, yet he never invited me to enter myself into the society, or to embark with him, whereby I might have been made as happy as he; no, nor did he recommend the employment to me at all.

The subtle tempter, never absent from his business, but ready at all occasions to encourage his servants, removed all these difficulties, and brought me into an intimacy with one of the most exquisite divers, or pickpockets, in the town; and this, our intimacy, was of no less a kind than that, as I had an inclination to be as wicked as any of them, he was for taking care that I should not be disappointed.

He was above the little fellows who went about stealing trifles and baubles in Bartholomew fair, and run the risk of being mobbed for three or four shillings. His aim was at higher things, even at no less than considerable sums of money, and bills for more.

He solicited me earnestly to go and take a walk with him as above, adding, that after he had shown me my trade a little, he would let me be as wicked as I would; that is, as he expressed it, that after he had made me capable, I should set up for myself, if I pleased, and he would only wish me good luck.

Accordingly, as Major Jack went with his gentleman, only to see the manner, and receive the purchase, and yet came in for a share; so he told me, if he had success, I should have my share as much as if I had been principal; and this he assured me was a custom of the trade, in order to encourage young beginners, and bring them into the trade with courage, for that nothing was to be done if a man had not the heart of the lion.

I hesitated at the matter a great while, objecting the hazard, and telling the story of Captain Jack, my elder brother, as I might call him. Well, colonel, says he, I find you are faint-hearted, and to be faint-hearted is indeed to be unfit for our trade, for nothing but a bold heart can go through stitch with this work; but, however, as there is nothing for you to do, so there is no risk for you to run in these things the first time. If I am taken, says he, you having nothing to do in it, they will let you go free; for it

shall easily be made appear, that whatever I have done you had no hand in it.

Upon those persuasions I ventured' out with him ; but I soon found that my new friend was a thief of quality, and a pickpocket above the ordinary rank, and that aimed higher abundantly than my brother Jack. He was a bigger boy than I a great deal ; for though I was now near fifteen years old, I was not big of my age, and as to the nature of the thing, I was perfectly a stranger to it. I knew indeed what at first I did not, for it was a good while before I understood the thing as an offence. I looked on picking pockets as a trade, and thought I was to go apprentice to it. It is true, this was when I was young in the society, as well as younger in years, but even now I understood it to be only a thing for which, if we were catched, we run the risk of being ducked or pumped, which we call soaking, and then all was over ; and we made nothing of having our rags wetted a little ; but I never understood, till a great while after, that the crime was capital, and that we might be sent to Newgate for it, till a great fellow, almost a man, one of our society, was hanged for it ; and then I was terribly frightened, as you shall hear by and by.

Well, upon the persuasions of this lad, I walked out with him ; a poor innocent boy, and (as I remember my very thoughts perfectly well) I had no evil in my intentions ; I had never stolen anything in my life ; and if a goldsmith had left me in his shop, with heaps of money strewed all round me, and bade me look after it, I should not have touched it ; I was so honest ; but the subtle tempter baited his hook for me, as I was a child, in a manner suitable to my childishness, for I never took this picking of pockets to be dishonesty, but, as I have said above, I looked on it as a kind of trade that I was to be bred up to, and so I entered upon it, till I became hardened in it beyond the power of retreating ; and thus I was made a thief involuntarily, and

went on a length that few boys do, without coming to the common period of that kind of life—I mean to the transport-ship, or to the gallows.

The first day I went abroad with my new instructor, he carried me directly into the city, and as we went first to the water side, he led me into the long-room at the custom-house; we were but a couple of ragged boys at best, but I was much the worse; my leader had a hat on, a shirt, and a neckcloth; as for me, I had neither of the three, nor had I spoiled my manners so much as to have a hat on my head since my nurse died, which was now some years. His orders to me were to keep always in sight, and near him, but not close to him, nor to take any notice of him at any time till he came to me; and if any hurlyburly happened, I should by no means know him, or pretend to have anything to do with him.

I observed my orders to a tittle. While he peered into every corner, and had his eye upon everybody, I kept my eye directly upon him, but went always at a distance, and on the other side of the long-room, looking as it were for pins, and picking them up out of the dust as I could find them, and then sticking them on my sleeve, where I had at last got forty or fifty good pins; but still my eye was upon my comrade, who, I observed, was very busy among the crowds of people that stood at the board, doing business with the officers who pass the entries, and make the coquets, &c.

At length he comes over to me, and stooping as if he would take up a pin close to me, he put something into my hand, and said, Put that up, and follow me down stairs quickly; he did not run, but shuffled along apace through the crowd, and went down, not the great stairs which we came in at, but a little narrow staircase at the other end of the long-room. I followed, and he found I did, and so went on, not stopping below as I expected, nor speaking one word to me, till through innumerable narrow passageways, and dark

ways, we were got up into Fenchurch-street, and through Billiter-lane into Leadenhall-street, and from thence into Leadenhall-market.

It was not a meat market-day, so we had room to sit down upon one of the butcher's stalls, and he bid me lug out. What he had given me was a little leather letter-case, with a French almanac stuck in the inside of it, and a great many papers in it of several kinds.

We looked them over, and found there was several valuable bills in it, such as bills of exchange, and other notes, things I did not understand; but among the rest was a goldsmith's note, as he called it, of one Sir Stephen Evans, for 300*l.*, payable to the bearer, and at demand; besides this, there was another note for 12*l.* 10*s.*, being a goldsmith's bill too, but I forget the name; there was a bill or two also written in French, which neither of us understood, but which it seems were things of value, being called foreign bills accepted.

The rogue, my master, knew what belonged to the goldsmith's bills well enough, and I observed, when he read the bill of Sir Stephen, he said, this is too big for me to meddle with; but when he came to the bill 12*l.* 10*s.*, he said to me, This will do, come hither, Jack; so away he runs to Lombard-street, and I after him, huddling the other papers into the letter-case. As he went along, he inquired the name out immediately, and went directly to the shop, put on a good grave countenance, and had the money paid him without any stop or question asked. I stood on the other side the way looking about the street, as not at all concerned with anybody that way, but observed, that when he presented the bill, he pulled out the letter-case, as if he had been a merchant's boy, acquainted with business, and had other bills about him.

They paid him the money in gold, and he made haste enough in telling it over, and came away, passing by me,

and going into Three-King-court, on the other side of the way ; then we crossed back into Clement's-lane, made the best of our way to Cole-harbour, at the water-side, and got a sculler for a penny to carry us over the water to St. Mary-Over's stairs, where we landed, and were safe enough.

Here he turns to me ; Colonel Jack, says he, I believe you are a lucky boy, this is a good job ; we'll go away to St. George's Fields and share our booty. Away we went to the Fields, and sitting down in the grass, far enough out of the path, he pulled out the money. Look here, Jack, says he, did you ever see the like before in your life ? No, never, says I, and added very innocently, must we have it all ? We have it ! says he, who should have it ? Why, says I, must the man have none of it again that lost it ? He have it again, says he, what d'ye mean by that ? Nay, I don't know, says I ; why you said just now you would let him have the t'other bill again ; that you said was too big for you.

He laughed at me. You are but a little boy, says he, that's true, but I thought you had not been such a child neither ; so he mighty gravely explained the thing to me thus : that the bill of Sir Stephen Evans was a great bill for 500*l.*, and if I, says he, that am but a poor lad, should venture to go for the money, they will presently say, how should I come by such a bill, and that I certainly found it or stole it ; so they will stop me, says he, and take it away from me, and it may bring me into trouble for it too ; so, says he, I did say it was too big for me to meddle with, and that I would let the man have it again, if I could tell how ; but for the money, Jack, the money that we have got, I warrant you he should have none of that ; besides, says he, whoever he be that has lost this letter-case, to be sure, as soon as he missed it, he would run to the goldsmith and give notice, that if anybody came for the money they would be stopped ; but I am too old for him there, says he.

Why, says I, and what will you do with the bill ; will you

throw it away? if you do, somebody else will find it, says . . . I, and they will go and take the money: No, no, says he, then they will be stopped and examined, as I tell you I should be. I did not know well what all this meant, so I talked no more about that; but we fell to handling the money. As for me, I had never seen so much together in all my life, nor did I know what in the world to do with it, and once or twice I was going to bid him keep it for me, which would have been done like a child indeed. for, to be sure, I had never heard a word more of it, though nothing had befallen him.

However, as I happened to hold my tongue as to that part, he shared the money very honestly with me; only at the end, he told me, that though it was true he promised me half, yet as it was the first time, and I had done nothing but look on, so he thought it was very well if I took a little less than he did; so he divided the money, which was 12*l.* 10*s.*, into two exact parts, viz., 6*l.* 5*s.* in each part; then he took 1*l.* 5*s.* from my part, and told me I should give him that for hansel. Well, says I, take it then, for I think you deserve it all: so, however, I took up the rest; and what shall I do with this now, says I, for I have nowhere to put it? Why, have you no pockets? says he. Yes, says I, but they are full of holes. I have often thought since that, and with some mirth too, how I had really more wealth than I knew what to do with, for lodging I had none, nor any box or drawer to hide my money in, nor had I any pocket, but such as I say was full of holes; I knew nobody in the world that I could go and desire them to lay it up for me; for being a poor naked, ragged boy, they would presently say I had robbed somebody, and perhaps lay hold of me, and my money would be my crime, as they say it often is in foreign countries; and now, as I was full of wealth, behold I was full of care, for what to do to secure my money I could not tell; and this held me so long, and

was so vexatious to me the next day, that I truly sat down and cried.

Nothing could be more perplexing than this money was to me all that night. I carried it in my hand a good while, for it was in gold, all but 14s. ; and that is to say, it was in four guineas, and that 14s. was more difficult to carry than the four guineas ; at last I sat down, and pulled off one of my shoes, and put the four guineas into that ; but after I had gone a while, my shoe hurt me so I could not go, so I was fain to sit down again, and take it out of my shoe, and carry it in my hand ; then I found a dirty linen rag in the street, and I took that up, and wrapt it all together, and carried it in that a good way. I have often since heard people say, when they have been talking of money, that they could not get in, I wish I had it in a foul clout : in truth, I had mine in a foul clout ; for it was foul, according to the letter of that saying, but it served me till I came to a convenient place, and then I sat down and washed the cloth in the kennel, and so then put my money in again.

Well, I carried it home with me to my lodging in the glass-house, and when I went to go to sleep, I knew not what to do with it ; if I had let any of the black crew I was with know of it, I should have been smothered in the ashes for it, or robbed of it, or some trick or other put upon me for it ; so I knew not what to do, but lay with it in my hand, and my hand in my bosom, but then sleep went from my eyes : O, the weight of human care ! I, a poor beggar-boy, could not sleep so soon as I had but a little money to keep, who before that could have slept upon a heap of brick-bats, stones, or cinders, or anywhere, as sound as a rich man does on his down bed, and sounder too.

Every now and then dropping asleep, I should dream that my money was lost, and start like one frightened ; then, finding it fast in my hand, try to go to sleep again, but could not for a long while ; then drop and start again. At last a fancy

came into my head that if I fell asleep I should dream of the money, and talk of it in my sleep, and tell that I had money; which if I should do, and one of the rogues should hear me, they would pick it out of my bosom, and of my hand too, without waking me; and after that thought I could not sleep a wink more; so that I passed that night over in care and anxiety enough; and this, I may safely say, was the first night's rest that I lost by the cares of this life, and the deceitfulness of riches.

As soon as it was day, I got out of the hole we lay in, and rambled abroad in the fields towards Stepney, and there I mused and considered what I should do with this money, and many a time I wished that I had not had it, for, after all my ruminating upon it, and what course I should take with it, or where I should put it, I could not hit upon any one thing, or any possible method to secure it, and it perplexed me so, that at last, as I said just now, I sat down and cried heartily.

When my crying was over, the case was the same; I had the money still, and what to do with it I could not tell. At last it came into my head that I would look out for some hole in a tree, and see to hide it there till I should have occasion for it. Big with this discovery, as I then thought it, I began to look about me for a tree; but there were no trees in the fields about Stepney or Mile-end that looked fit for my purpose; and if there were any that I began to look narrowly at, the fields were so full of people that they would see if I went to hide anything there, and I thought the people eyed me, as it were, and that two men, in particular followed me to see what I intended to do.

This drove me farther off, and I crossed the road at Mile-end, and in the middle of the town went down a lane that goes away to the Blind Beggar's at Bethnal-green; when I came a little way in the lane, I found a footpath over the fields, and in those fields several trees for my turn, as I

thought ; at last, one tree had a little hole in it, pretty high out of my reach, and I climbed up the tree to get it, and when I came there, I put my hand in, and found, (as I thought) a place very fit, so I placed my treasure there, and was mighty well satisfied with it ; but, behold, putting my hand in again to lay it more commodiously, as I thought, of a sudden it slipped away from me, and I found the tree was hollow, and my little parcel was fallen in quite out of my reach, and how far it might go in I knew not ; so that, in a word, my money was quite gone, irrecoverably lost ; there could be no room so much as to hope ever to see it again, for 'twas a vast great tree.

As young as I was, I was now sensible what a fool I was before, that I could not think of ways to keep my money, but I must come thus far to throw it into a hole where I could not reach it. Well, I thrust my hand quite up to my elbow, but no bottom was to be found, or any end of the hole or cavity ; I got a stick of the tree, and thrust it in a great way, but all was one ; then I cried, nay, roared out, I was in such a passion ; then I got down the tree again, then up again, and thrust in my hand again till I scratched my arm and made it bleed, and cried all the while most violently ; then I began to think I had not so much as a halfpenny of it left for a halfpenny roll, and I was hungry. and then I cried again ; then I came away in despair, crying and roaring like a little boy that had been whipped ; then I went back again to the tree, and up the tree again, and thus I did several times.

The last time I had gotten up the tree I happened to come down not on the same side that I went up and came down before, but on the other side of the tree, and on the other side of the bank also ; and, behold, the tree had a great open place in the side of it close to the ground, as old hollow trees often have ; and looking into the open place, to my inexpressible joy, there lay my money and my linen

rag, all wrapped up just as I had put it into the hole ; for the tree being hollow all the way up, there had been some moss or light stuff (which I had not judgment enough to know), was not firm, and had given way when it came to drop out of my hands, and so it had slipped quite down at once.

I was but a child, and I rejoiced like a child, for I hollo'd quite out aloud when I saw it ; then I run to it, and snatched it up, hugged and kissed the dirty rag a hundred times ; then danced and jumped about, run from one end of the field to the other, and, in short, I knew not what, much less do I know now what I did, though I shall never forget the thing, either what a sinking grief it was to my heart, when I thought I had lost it, or what a flood of joy overwhelmed me when I had got it again.

While I was in the first transport of my joy, as I have said, I run about, and knew not what I did ; but when that was over I sat down, opened the soul cloth the money was in, looked at it, told it, found it was all there, and then I fell a-crying as savourily as I did before, when I thought I had lost it.

It would tire the reader should I dwell on all the little boyish tricks that I played in the ecstasy of my joy and satisfaction, when I had found my money ; so I break off here. Joy is as extravagant as grief, and since I have been a man I have often thought, that had such a thing befallen a man, so to have lost all he had, and not have a bit of bread to eat, and then so strangely to find it again, after having given it so effectually over, — I say, had it been so with a man, it might have hazarded his using some violence upon himself.

Well, I came away with my money, and, having taken sixpence out of it, before I made it up again, I went to a chandler's shop in Mile-end, and bought a halfpenny roll and a halfpenny worth of cheese, and sat down at the

door after I bought it, and eat it very heartily, and begged some beer to drink with it, which the good woman gave me very freely.

Away I went then for the town, to see if I could find any of my companions, and resolved I would try no more hollow trees for my treasure. As I came along White-chapel I came by a broker's shop, over against the church, where they sold old clothes, for I had nothing on but the worst of rags; so I stopped at the shop, and stood looking at the clothes which hung at the door.

Well, young gentleman, says a man that stood at the door, you look wishfully; do you see anything you like, and will your pocket compass a good coat now, for you look as if you belonged to the ragged regiment? I was affronted at the fellow. What's that to you, says I, how ragged I am? If I had seen anything I liked, I have money to pay for it; but I can go where I shan't be huffed at for looking.

While I said thus, pretty boldly to the fellow, comes a woman out. What ails you, says she to the man, to bully away our customers so? A poor boy's money is as good as my lord mayor's; if poor people did not buy old clothes, what would become of our business? and then turning to me, come hither, child, says she, if thou hast a mind to anything I have, you shan't be hector'd by him; the boy is a pretty boy, I assure you, says she, to another woman that was by this time come to her. Ay, says the f'other, so he is, a very well-looking child, if he was clean and well dressed, and may be as good a gentleman's son for anything we know, as any of those that are well dressed. Come, my dear, says she, tell me what is it you would have? She pleased me mightily to hear her talk of my being a gentleman's son, and it brought former things to my mind; but when she talked of my being not clean, and in rags, then

She pressed me to tell her if I saw anything that I wanted; I told her no, all the clothes I saw there were too big for me. Come, child, says she, I have two things here that will fit you, and I am sure you want them both; that is, first, a little hat, and there, says she (tossing it to me), I'll give you that for nothing; and here is a good warm pair of breeches; I daresay, says she, they will fit you, and they are very tight and good; and, says she, if you should ever come to have so much money that you don't know what to do with it, here are excellent good pockets, says she, and a little fob to put your gold in, or your watch in, when you get it.

It struck me with a strange kind of joy that I should have a place to put my money in, and need not go to hide it again in a hollow tree; that I was ready to snatch the breeches out of her hands, and wondered that I should be such a fool never to think of buying me a pair of breeches before, that I might have a pocket to put my money in, and not carry it about two days together in my hand, and in my shoe, and I knew not how; so, in a word, I gave her two shillings for the breeches, and went over into the churchyard, and put them on, put my money into my new pockets, and was as pleased as a prince is with his coach and six horses. I thanked the good woman too for the hat, and told her I would come again when I got more money, and buy some other things I wanted; and so I came away.

I went now up and down just as I did before; I had money indeed in my pocket, but I let nobody know it, I went of errands cheerfully as before, and accepted of what anybody gave me, with as much thankfulness as ever; the only difference that I made with myself, was, that if I was hungry, and nobody employed me, or gave me anything to eat, I did not beg from door to door, as I did at first, but went to a boiling-house, and got a mess of broth and a piece of bread, price a halfpenny; very seldom any meat,

or if I treated myself, it was a halfpennyworth of cheese; all which expense did not amount to above twopence or threepence a week; for, contrary to the usage of the rest of the tribe, I was extremely frugal, and I had not disposed of any of the guineas which I had at first; neither, indeed, could I tell what a guinea was made of, or what it was worth.

After this we had a great many other successful enterprises, some of one kind, some of another; and were never so much as in danger of being apprehended; but my companion Will, who was now grown a man, and encouraged by these advantages, fell into quite another vein of wickedness, getting acquainted with a wretched gang of fellows that turned their hands to everything that was vile.

Will was a lusty strong fellow, and withal very bold and daring, would fight anybody, and venture upon anything, and I found he began to be above the mean rank of a poor pickpocket, so I saw him but seldom; however, once coming to me in a very friendly manner, and asking me how I went on, I told him that I used the old trade still, that I had had two or three good jobs; one with a young woman, whose pocket I had picked of eleven guineas; and another, a countrywoman, just come out of a stage-coach, seeing her pull out her bag to pay the coachman; and that I followed her till I got an opportunity, and slipped it out so neatly, that though there was ⁸/_l. 17s. in it, yet she never felt it go. And several other jobs I told him of, by which I made pretty good purchase. I always said you were a lucky boy, Colonel Jack, says he; but, come, you are grown almost a man now, and you shall not be always at play at push-pin; I am got into better business, I assure you, and you shall come into it too. I'll bring you into a brave gang, Jack, says he, where you shall see we shall be all gentlemen.

Then he told me the trade itself, in short, which was

with a set of fellows, that had two of the most desperate works upon their hands that belouged to the whole art of thieving; that is to say, in the evening they were footpads, and in the night they were housebreakers. Will told me so many plausible stories, and talked of such great things, that, in short, I, who had been always used to do anything he bid me do, went with him without any hesitation.

Nothing is more certain, than that hitherto, being partly from the gross ignorance of my untaught childhood, as I observed before, partly from the hardness and wickedness of the company I kept, and add to these, that it was the business I might be said to be brought up to, I had, I say, all the way hitherto, no manner of thoughts about the good or evil of what I was embarked in; consequently I had no sense of conscience, no reproaches upon my mind for having done amiss.

Yet I had something in me, by what secret influence I knew not, kept me from the other degrees of raking and vice, and, in short, from the general wickedness of the rest of my companions; for example, I never used any ill words, nobody ever heard me swear, nor was I given to drink, or to love strong drink; and I cannot omit a circumstance that very much served to prevent it. I had a strange original notion, as I have mentioned in its place, of my being a gentleman; and several things had casually happened in my way to increase this fancy of mine. It happened one day, that being in the glass-house yard, between Rosemary-lane and Rateliff-high-way, there came a man dressed very well, and with a coach attending him, and he came (as I suppose) to buy glass bottles, or some other goods, as they sold; and in bargaining for his goods, he swore most horrible oaths at every two or three words. At length the master of the glass-house, an ancient grave gentleman, took the liberty to reprove him, which at first made him swear the worse; after awhile, the gentleman was a little calmer, but still he swore very much,

though not so bad as at first. After some time, the master of the glass-house turped from him,—Really, sir, says the good old gentleman, you swear so, and take God's name in vain so, that I cannot bear to stay with you; I would rather you would let my goods alone, and go somewhere else; I hope you won't take it ill, but I don't desire to deal with anybody that does so; I am afraid my glass-house should fall on your head while you stay in it.

The gentleman grew good-humoured at the reproof, and said, Well, come, don't go away, I won't swear any more, says he, if I can help it; for I own, says he, I should not do it.

With that the old gentleman looked up at him, and, returning, Really, sir, says he, 'tis a pity you, that seem to be a fine gentleman, well bred, and good-humoured, should accustom yourself to such a hateful practice; why, 'tis not like a gentleman to swear, 'tis bad enough for my black wretches that work there at the furnace, or for these ragged, naked, blackguard boys, pointing at me and some others of the dirty crew that lay in the ashes; 'tis bad enough for them, says he, and they ought to be corrected for it too; but for a man of breeding, sir, says he, a gentleman, it ought to be looked upon as below them; gentlemen know better, and are taught better, and it is plain you know better.

I heard all this, and it made the blood run chill in my veins, when he said swearing was only fit for such as we were. In short, it made as great an impression upon me as it did upon the gentleman; and yet he took it very kindly too, and thanked the old gentleman for his advice. But from that time forward, I never had the least inclination to swearing or ill words, and abhorred it when I heard the other boys do it.

But, to go back where I left off. Will came to me, as I have said, and telling me how much better business he was fallen into, would have me go along with him, and I should

be a gentleman. Will, it seems, understood that word in a quite different manner from me: for his gentleman was nothing more or less than a gentleman thief, a villain of a higher degree than a pickpocket, and one that might do something more wicked, and better entitling him to the gallows, than could be done in our way; but my gentleman that I had my eye upon, was another thing quite, though I could not really tell how to describe it either.

However, the word took with me, and I went with him. We were neither of us old; Will was about twenty-four, and as for me I was now about eighteen, and pretty tall of my age.

The first time I went with him, he brought me into the company only of two more young fellows. We met at the lower part of Gray's-Inn-lane, about an hour before sunset, and went out into the fields toward a place called Pindar of Wakefield, where are abundance of brick-kilns; here it was agreed to spread from the field-path to the road-way, all the way towards Paneras church, to observe any chance game, as they called it, which they might shoot flying. Upon the path, within the bank, on the side of the road, going towards Kentish-town, two of our gang, Will, and one of the other, met a single gentleman, walking apace towards the town; being almost dark, Will cried, Mark, ho! which, it seems, was the word at which we were all to stand still at a distance, come in, if he wanted help, and give a signal if anything appeared that was dangerous.

Will steps up to the gentleman, stops him, and put the question; that is, Sir, your money? The gentleman seeing he was alone, struck at him with his cane, but Will, a nimble, strong fellow, flew in upon him, and, with struggling, got him down; then he begged for his life, Will having told him with an oath that he would cut his throat. In that moment, while this was doing, comes a hackney-coach along the road; and the fourth man, who was that way, cries,

Mark, ho ! which was to intimate that it was a prize, not a surprise ; and accordingly the next man went up to assist him, when they stopped the coach, which had a doctor of physic and a surgeon in it, who had been to visit some considerable patient, and, I suppose, had considerable fees ; for here they got two good purses, one with eleven or twelve guineas, the other six, with some pocket money, two watches, one diamond ring, and the surgeon's plaster-box, which was most of it full of silver instruments.

While they were at this work, Will kept the man down who was under him ; and though he promised not to kill him, unless he offered to make a noise, yet he would not let him stir till he heard the noise of the coach going on again, by which he knew the job was over on that side. Then he carried him a little out of the way, tied his hands behind him, and bid him lie still and make no noise, and he would come back in half an hour and untie him, upon his word ; but if he cried out, he would come back and kill him.

The poor man promised to lie still and make no noise, and did so ; and had not above 11s. 6d. in his pocket, which Will took, and came back to the rest ; but while they were together, I, who was on the side of the Pindar of Wakefield, cried Mark, ho ! too.

What I saw was a couple of poor women, one a kind of a nurse, and the other a maid-servant going for Kentish-town. As Will-knew that I was but young at the work, he came flying to me, and seeing how easy a bargain it was, he said, Go, Colonel, fall to work. I went up to them, and speaking to the elderly woman, Nurse, said I, don't be in such haste, I want to speak with you ; at which they both stopped, and looked a little frightened. Don't be frightened, sweetheart, said I to the maid ; a little of that money in the bottom of your pocket will make all easy, and I will do you no harm. By this time Will came up to us, for they

did not see him before; then they began to scream out. Hold! says I, make no noise, unless you have a mind to force us to murder you whether we will or no; give me your money presently, and make no words, and we shan't hurt you. Upon this the poor maid pulled out 5s. 6d. and the old woman a guinea and a shilling, crying heartily for her money, and said it was all she had left in the world. Well, we took it for all that, though it made my very heart bleed to see what agony the poor woman was in at parting with it, and I asked her where she lived; she said her name was Smith, and she lived at Kentish-town: I said nothing to her, but bid them go on about their business, and I gave Will the money; so in a few minutes we were all together again: says one of the other rogues, Come, this is well enough for one road, it's time to be gone. So we jogged away, crossing the fields, out of the path towards Tottenham-court; But hold! says Will, I must go and untie the man. So he went to the place, but the man was gone; either he had untied himself, or somebody had passed by, and he had called for help, and so was untied, for he could not find him nor make him hear, though he ventured to call twice for him aloud.

So we parted for that time; but I resolved with myself that I would never be concerned with him that way any more. The truth is, they were such a dreadful gang, such horrid barbarous villains, that even that little while that I was among them, my very blood ran cold in my veins at what I heard, particularly the continued raving and cursing one another, and themselves, at every word they spoke; and then the horrid resolutions of murder, and cutting throats, which I perceived was in their minds upon any occasion that should present.

Two days after this, Will came to my lodging; for I had now got a room by myself, had bought me tolerable good clothes and some shirts, and began to look like other folks.

But, as it happened, I was abroad upon the scout in another way ; for, though I was not hardened enough for so black a villain as Will would have had me be, yet I had not arrived to any principle sufficient to keep me from a life, in its degree wicked enough, which tended to the same destruction, though not in so violent and precipitant degrees. I had his message delivered to me, which was to meet him the next evening at such a place, and, as I came in time enough to go, I went to the place, but resolved beforehand that I would not go any more with him among the gang.

However, to my great satisfaction, I missed him, for he did not come at all to the place, but met with the gang at another place, they having sent for him in haste upon the notice of some booty ; and so they went all away together. This was a summons, it seems, from one of the creatures which they had abroad in a family, where an opportunity offered them to commit a notorious robbery, down almost as far as Hounslow, and where they wounded a gentleman's gardener so, that I think he died, and robbed the house of a very considerable sum of money and plate.

This, however, was not so clean carried, nor did they get in so easy, but by the resistance they met with, the neighbours were all alarmed, and the gentlemen rogues were pursued, and being loaden with the booty, one of them was taken. Will, a dexterous fellow, and head of the gang, made his escape, and though in his clothes, with a great weight about him, of both money and plate, plunged into the Thames, and swam over where there was no path, or road, leading to the river ; so that nobody suspected any one's going that way. Being got over, he made his way wet as he was, into some woods adjacent, and, as he told me afterwards, not far from Chertsey, and stayed lurking about in the woods or fields thereabout, till his clothes were dry ; then, in the night, got down to Kingston, and so to Mortlake, where he got a boat to London.

He knew not that one of his comrades was taken; only he knew that they were all so closely pursued that they were obliged to disperse, and every one to 'shift for himself.' He happened to come home in the evening, as good luck then directed him, just after search had been made for him by the constables; his companion, who was taken, having, upon promise of favour, and of saving him from the gallows, discovered his companions, and Will among the rest, as the principal party in the whole undertaking.

At the end of four days I heard, by great accident, that Will, who used to be seen with me, and who called me brother, was taken, and would be hanged, and 'I wanted very much to go and see him, and accordingly did so.

I found him in a sad condition, loaden with heavy irons, and had himself no prospect or hope of escaping; he told me he should die, but bid me be easy; for, as it would do him no good to accuse me, who never was out with any of them but that once, so I might depend upon it he would not bring me into the trouble; as for the rogue who had betrayed them all, he was not able to hurt me, for I might be satisfied he had never seen me in his life; but, Colonel Jack, says he, I will tell you who was with us, and that is, your brother the captain, and the villain has certainly named him; and, therefore, says he, if you can give him timely notice of it, do, that he may make his escape.

He said a great many things to warn me of following the steps he had led me. I was far out, Jack, said he, when I told you, to be a notorious thief was to live like a gentleman. He chiefly discovered his concern that they had, as he feared, killed the gentleman's gardener, and that he in particular had given him a wound in the neck, of which he was afraid he would die.

He had a great sum of money in gold about him, and he had concealed it so well, that those who took him had not found it, and he gave me the greatest part of it to

carry to his mother, which I very honestly delivered, and came away with a heavy heart: nor did I ever see him since, for he was executed in about three weeks' time after, being condemned that very next sessions.

I had nothing to do now but to find the captain, who, though not without some trouble, I at last got news of, and told him the whole story. Then he told me he had a mind to fly into Scotland, which was easy to be done, and asked me if I would go with him. I told him I would with all my heart, if I had money enough to bear the charge. He had the trade still in his eyes by his answer; I warrant you, says he, we will make the journey pay our charge. I dare not think of going any more upon the adventure, says I; besides, if we meet with any misfortune, out of our knowledge, we shall never get out of it, we shall be undone. Nay, says he, we shall find no mercy here, if they can catch us, and they can do no worse abroad; I am for venturing at all events.

Well, but, captain, says I, have you husbanded your time so ill that you have no money to supply you in such a time as this? I have very little indeed, said he, for I have had bad luck lately.

However, he owned he had about 22*l.* in money, and something that would yield money; I suppose it was plate; but he would not tell me what it was, or where it was, but he said he durst not go to fetch it, for he should be betrayed and seized, so he would venture without it; sure, says he, we shall come back again some time or other.

I honestly produced all the money I had, which was 16*l.* and some odd shillings. Now, says I, if we are good husbands, and travel frugally, this will carry us quite out of danger; for we had both been assured that when we came out of England, we should be both safe, and nobody could hurt us, though they had known us; but we neither of us thought it was so many weary steps to Scotland as we found it.

I speak of myself as in the same circumstances of danger with brother Jack; but it was only thus: I was in as much fear as he, but not in quite as much danger.

I cannot omit, that, in the interval of these things, I took a walk all alone into the fields, in order to go to Kentish-town, and do justice to the poor old nurse; it happened that before I was aware, I crossed a field that came to the very spot where I robbed the poor old woman and the maid, or where, I should say, Will made me rob them. My heart had reproached me many a time with that cruel action, and many a time I promised to myself that I would find a way to make her satisfaction, and restore her money, and that day I had set apart for the work: but was a little surprised that I was so suddenly upon the unhappy spot.

The place brought to my mind the villany I had committed there, and something struck me with a kind of wish, I cannot say prayer, for I knew not what that meant, that I might leave off that cursed trade, and said to myself, O! that I had some trade to live by; I would never rob no more, for sure 'tis a wicked, abominable thing.

Here indeed I felt the loss of what just parents do, and ought to do, by all their children: I mean, being bred to some trade or employment; and I wept many times, that I knew not what to do, or what to turn my hand to, though I resolved to leave off the wicked course I was in.

But, to return to my journey: I asked my way to Kentish-town, and it happened to be of a poor woman that said she lived there; upon which intelligence I asked if she knew a woman that lived there whose name was Smith? She answered, Yes, very well, that she was not a settled inhabitant, only a lodger in the town, but that she was an honest, poor, industrious woman, and, by her labour and pains, maintained a diseased husband, that had been unable to help himself some years.

What a villain have I been, said I to myself, that I

should rob such a poor woman as this, and add grief and tears to her misery, and to the sorrows of her house ! This quickened my resolution to restore her money, and not only so, but I resolved I would give her something over and above her loss. So I went forward, and by the direction I had received, found her lodging with very little trouble ; then asking for the woman, she came to the door immediately, for she heard me ask for her by her name of a little girl that came first to the door. I presently spoke to her : Dame, said I, was not you robbed about a year ago, as you was coming home from London, about Pindar of Wakefield ? Yes, indeed, I was, says she, and sadly frightened into the bargain. And how much did you lose ? said I. Indeed, says she, I lost all the money I had in the world ; I am sure I worked hard for it, it was money for keeping a nurse-child that I had then, and I had been at London to receive it. But how much was it, dame ? said I. Why, says she, it was 22s. 6½*l.* ; 2*l.*s. I had been to fetch, and the odd money was my own before.

Well, look you, good woman, what will you say if I should put you in a way to get your money again ; for I believe the fellow that took it is fast enough now, and perhaps I may do you a kindness in it, and for that I came to see you. O dear ! says the old woman, I understand you, but indeed I cannot swear to the man's face again ; for it was dark, and beside, I would not hang the poor wretch for my money ; let him live and repent. That is very kind, says I, more than he deserves from you ; but you need not be concerned about that, for he will be hanged whether you appear against him or not ; but are you willing to have your money again that you lost ? Yes, indeed, says the woman, I should be glad of that, for I have not been so hard put to it for money a great while as I am now ; I have much ado to find us bread to eat, though I work hard early and late ; and with that she cried.

I thought it would have broken my very heart, to think how this poor creature worked, and was a slave at near threescore, and that I, a young fellow of hardly twenty; should rob her of her bread to support my idleness and wicked life, and the tears came from my eyes in spite of all my struggling to prevent it, and the woman perceived it too. Poor woman, said I, 'tis a sad thing such creatures as these should plunder and strip such a poor object as thou art! Well, he is at leisure now to repent it, I assure you. I perceive, sir, says she, you are very compassionate indeed; I wish he may improve the time God has spared him, and that he may repent, and I pray God give him repentance; whoever he is, I forgive him, whether he can make me recompense or not, and I pray God forgive him: I won't do him any prejudice, not I. And with that she went on praying for me.

Well, dame, come hither to me, says I; and with that I put my hand into my pocket, and she came to me. Hold up your hand, said I; which she did, and I told her nine half-crowns into her hand. There, dame, said I, is your 22s. 6d. you lost; I assure you, dame, said I, I have been the chief instrument to get it of him for you; for, ever since he told me the story of it among the rest of his wicked exploits, I never gave him any rest till I made him promise me to make you restitution. All the while I held her hand and put the money into it, I looked in her face, and I perceived her colour come and go, and that she was under the greatest surprise of joy imaginable.

Well, God bless him, says she, and spare him from the disaster he is afraid of, if it be his will; for sure, this is an act of so much justice, and so honest, that I never expected the like. She run on a great while so, and wept for him, when I told her I doubted there was no room to expect his life. Well, says she, then pray God give him repentance, and bring him to heaven, for sure he must have something

that is good at the bottom ; he has a principle of honesty at bottom to be sure, however he may have been brought into bad courses, by bad company or evil example, or other temptations ; but I dare say he will be brought to repentance one time or other before he dies.

All this touched me nearer than she imagined ; for I was the man that she prayed for all this while, though she did not know it, and in my heart I said amen to it ; for I was sensible, that I had done one of the vilest actions in the world, in attacking a poor creature in such a condition, and not listening to her entreaties, when she begged so heartily for that little money we took from her.

In a word the good woman so moved me with her charitable prayers, that I put my hand in my pocket again for her ; Dame, said I, you are so charitable in your petitions for this miserable creature, that it puts me in mind of one thing more which I will do for him, whether he ordered me or not ; and that is, to ask your forgiveness for the thief in robbing you ; for it was an offence, and a trespass against you, as well as an injury to you, and therefore I ask your pardon for him : will you sincerely and heartily forgive him, dame ? I do desire of you ; and with that I stood up, and, with my hat off, asked her pardon. O ! Sir, says she, do not stand up, and with your hat off to me ! I am a poor woman, I forgive him, and all that were with him ; for there was one or more with him ; I forgive them with all my heart, and I pray God to forgive them.

Well, dame, then, said I, to make you some recompense for your charity, there is something for you more than your loss ; and with that I gave her a crown more.

Then I asked her who that was who was robbed with her ? She said it was a servant-maid that lived then in the town, but she was gone from her place, and she did not know where she lived now. Well, dame, says I, if ever you do hear of her, let her leave word where she may be

found; and if I live to come and see you again, I will get the money of him for her too: I think that was but little, was it? No, says she, it was but 5s. 6d., which I knew as well as she. Well, says I, dame, inquire her out if you have an opportunity. So she promised me she would, and away I came.

We set out from London and went forward to Edinburgh. All the way thither we went through no considerable town, and it was but very coarse travelling for us, who were strangers; for we met with waters which were very dangerous to pass, by reason of hasty rains, at a place called Lauderdale, and where my captain was really in danger of drowning; but he had a proverb in his favour, and he got out of the water, though with difficulty enough, not being born to be drowned, as I shall observe afterwards in its place. We were oddly saluted at Edinburgh, the next day after we came thither; my captain having a desire to walk and look about him, asked me if I would go and see the town? I told him yes; so we went out, and coming through a gate that they call the Nether-bow, into the great High-street, which went up to the cross, we were surprised to see it thronged with an infinite number of people.

It was while we were looking, and wondering at what we saw here, that we were surprised with a sight which we little expected; we observed the people running on a sudden, as to see some strange thing just coming along, and strange it was indeed; for we saw two men naked from the waist upwards, run by us as swift as the wind, and we imagined nothing but that it was two men running a race for some mighty wager. On a sudden we found two long small ropes or lines, which hung down at first, pulled straight, and the two racers stopped and stood still, one close by the other. We could not imagine what this meant, but the reader may judge at our surprise when we found a man follow after, who had the ends of both those

lines in his hands, and who, when he came up to them, gave each of them two frightful lashes with a wire whip, or lash, which he held in the other hand; and then the two poor naked wretches run on again to the length of their line or tether, where they waited for the like salutation; and in this manner they danced the length of the whole street, which is about half a mile.

This was a dark prospect to my captain, and put him in mind, not only of what he was to expect if he made a slip in the way of his profession in this place, but also of what he had suffered when he was but a boy, at the famous place called Bridewell. For my part I tried to get an honest living, but I was very unfortunate.

We remained here about a month, when, on a sudden, my captain was gone, and I knew nothing what was become of him; nor did I ever see or hear of him for eighteen months after, nor did he so much as leave the least notice for me, either whither he was gone, or whether he would return to Edinburgh again, or no.

His ramble and adventures were many in that time; he went to Glasgow, played some remarkable pranks there, escaped almost miraculously from the gallows, got over to Ireland, wandered about there, turned raparee, and did some villainous things there, and escaped from Londonderry over to the Highlands in the north of Scotland; and about a month before I was left destitute at Leith, behold! my noble Captain Jack came in there, on board the ferry boat from Fife, being, after all adventures and successes, advanced to the dignity of a foot soldier in a body of recruits raised in the north for the regiment of Douglas.

After my disaster, being reduced almost as low as my captain, I found no better shift before me, at least for the present, than to enter myself a soldier too; and thus we were ranked together, with each of us a musket upon our shoulders, and, I confess, that thing did not sit so ill upon

me as I thought at first it would have done ; for though I fared hard ; and lodged ill (for the last, especially, is the fate of poor soldiers in that part of the world), yet to me, that had been used to lodge on the ashes in the glass-house, this was no great matter ; I had a secret satisfaction at being now under no necessity of stealing, and living in fear of a prison, and of the lash of the hangman ; a thing which, from the time I saw it in Edinburgh, was so terrible to me, that I could not think of it without horror ; and it was an inexpressible ease to my mind, that I was now in a certain way of living, which was honest, and which I could say was not unbecoming a gentleman.

Whatever was my satisfaction in that part, yet other circumstances did not equally concur to make this life suit me ; for after we had been about six months in this figure, we were informed that the recruits were all to march for England, and to be shipped off at Newcastle, or at Hull, to join the regiment, which was then in Flanders.

I began to be very uneasy, and very unwilling in my thoughts to go over a poor musqueteer into Flanders, to be knocked on the head at the tune of 3s. 6d. a week. While I was daily musing on the circumstances of being sent away, as above, and considering what to do, my captain comes to me one evening ; Hark ye, Jack, says he, I must speak with you ; let us take a walk in the fields a little out from the houses. We were quartered at a place called Park-End, near the town of Dunbar, about twenty miles from Berwick-upon-Tweed, and about sixteen miles from the river Tweed, the nearest way.

We walked together here, and talked seriously upon the matter ; the captain told me how his case stood, and that he durst not march with the battalion into Newcastle ; that if he did he should be taken out of the ranks and tried for his life, and that I knew as well as he : I could go privately to Newcastle, says he, and go through the town well enough,

but to go publicly is to run into the jaws of destruction. Well, says I, that is very true; but what will you do? Do? says he, do you think I am so bound by honour, as a gentleman soldier, that I will be hanged for them? No, no, says he, I am resolved to be gone, and I would have you go with us; said I, What do you mean by us? Why, here is another honest fellow, an Englishman also, says he, that is resolved to desert too, and he has been a long while in the service, and says he knows how we shall be used abroad, and he will not go to Flanders, says he, not he.

Why, says I, you will be shot to death for deserters if you are taken, and they will send out scouts for you in the morning all over the country, so that you will certainly fall into their hands. As for that, says he, my comrade is thoroughly acquainted with the way, and he has undertaken to bring us to the banks of the Tweed before they can come up with us, and when we are on the other side of the Tweed, they can't take us up.

And when would you go away? says I.

This minute, says he; no time to be lost; 'tis a fine moon-shining night.

I have none of my baggage, says I; let me go back and fetch my linen, and other things.

Your linen is not much, I suppose, says he, and we shall easily get more in England the old way.

No, says I, no more of your old ways; it has been owing to those old ways that we are now in such a strait.

Well, well, says he, the old ways are better than this starving life of a gentleman, as we call it.

But, says I, we have no money in our pockets; how shall we travel?

I have a little, says the captain; enough to help us on to Newcastle, and if we can get none by the way, we will get some collier ship to take us in, and carry us to London by sea.

I like that the best of all the measures you have laid yet,

said I ; and so I consented to go, and went off with him immediately. The cunning rogue having lodged his comrade a mile off under the hills, had dragged me by talking with him, by little and little, that way, till just when I consented, he was in sight, and he said, Look, there's my comrade ! who I knew presently, having seen him among the men.

Being thus gotten under the hills, and a mile off the way, and the day just shut in, we kept on apace, resolving, if possible, to get out of the reach of our pursuers before they should miss us, or know anything of our being gone.

We plied our time so well, and travelled so hard, that by five o'clock in the morning we were at a little village, whose name I forget ; but they told us that we were within eight miles of the Tweed ; and that as soon as we should be over the river, we were on English ground.

We refreshed a little here, but marched on with but little stay ; however, it was half an hour past eight in the morning before we reached the Tweed, so it was at least twelve miles, when they told us it was but eight. Here we overtook two more of the same regiment, who had deserted from Haddington, where another part of the recruits were quartered.

Those were Scotchmen, and very poor, having not one penny in their pockets ; and had no more when they made their escape but 8s. between them ; and when they saw us, whom they knew to be of the same regiment, they took us to be pursuers, and that we came to lay hold of them ; upon which they stood upon their defence, having the regiment swords on, as we had also, but none of the mounting or clothing ; for we were not to receive the clothing till we came to the regiment in Flanders.

It was not long before we made them understand that we were in the same circumstances with themselves, and so we soon became one company ; and after resting some time on the English side of the river (for we were heartily tired, and

the others were, as much fatigued as we were),—I say, after resting awhile, we set forwards towards Newcastle, whither we resolved to go to get our passage by sea to London; for we had not money to hold us out any farther.

Our money was ebbcd very low; for, though I had one piece of gold in my pocket, which I kept reserved for the last extremity, yet it was but half-a-guinea, and my captain had bore all our charges as far as his money would go, so that when we came to Newcastle we had but sixpence left in all to help ourselves, and the two Scots had begged their way all along the road.

We contrived to come into Newcastle in the dusk of the evening, and even then we durst not venture into the public part of the town, but made down towards the river, something below the town, where some glass-houses stand. Here we knew not what to do with ourselves; but, guided by our fate, we put a good face upon the matter, and went into an ale-house, sat down, and called for a pint of beer.

The house was kept by a woman only, that is to say, we saw no other; and, as she appeared very frank, and entertained us cheerfully, we at last told our condition, and asked her if she could not help us to some kind master of a collier, that would give us a passage to London by sea. The subtle wretch, who immediately found us proper fish for her hook, gave us the kindest words in the world, and told us she was heartily sorry she had not seen us one day sponser; that there was a collier-master, of her particular acquaintance, that went away but with the morning tide, that the ship was fallen down to Shields, but she believed was hardly over the bar yet, and she would send to his house and see if he was gone on board, for sometimes the masters do not go away till a tide after the ship, and she was sure if he was not gone she could prevail with him to take us all in; but then she was afraid we must go on board immediately, the same night.

We begged her to send to his house, for we knew not what to do, and if she could oblige him to take us on board, we did not care what time of night it was; for, as we had no money, we had no lodging, and we wanted nothing but to be on board.

We looked upon this as a mighty favour, that she sent to the master's house, and to our greater joy, she brought us word about an hour after that he was not gone, and was at a tavern in the town, whither his boy had been to fetch him; and that he had sent word he would call there in the way home.

This was all in our favour, and we were extremely pleased with it. About an hour after, the landlady being in the room with us, her maid brings us word the master was below; so down she goes to him, telling us she would go and tell him our case, and see to persuade him to take us all on board. After some time she comes up with him, and brings him into the room to us. Where are these honest gentlemen soldiers, says he, that are in such distress? We stood all up, and paid our respects to him. Well, gentlemen, and is all your money spent?

Indeed it is, said one of our company, and we shall be infinitely obliged to you, sir, if you will give us a passage; we will be very willing to do anything we can in the ship, though we are not stamen.

Why, says he, were none of you ever at sea in your lives?

No, says we, not one of us.

You will be able to do me no service then, says he, for you will be all sick: Well, however, says he, for my good landlady's sake here, I'll do it; but are you all ready to go on board, for I go on board this very night?

Yes, sir, says we again, we are ready to go this minute.

No, no, says he, very kindly, we'll drink together; come, landlady, says he, make these honest gentlemen a sneaker of punch.

We looked at one another, for we knew we had no money, and he perceived it; Come, come, says he, don't be concerned at your having no money: my landlady here and I never part with dry lips. Come, goodwife, says he, make the punch as I bid you.

We thanked him, and said, God bless you, noble captain, a hundred times over, being overjoyed with such good luck. While we were drinking the punch, he calls the landlady; Come, says he, I'll step home and take my things, and bid them good bye, and order the boat to come at high water, and take me up here; and pray, goodwife, says he, get me something for supper; sure if I can give these honest men their passage, I may give them a bit of victuals too; it may be they han't had much for dinner.

With this away he went, and in a little while we heard the jack agoing, and one of us going down stairs for a spy, brought us word there was a good leg of mutton at the fire. In less than an hour our captain came again, and came up to us, and blamed us that we had not drank all the punch out. Come, says he, don't be bashful, when that is out we can have another; when I am obliging poor men, I love to do it handsomely.

We drank on, and drank the punch out, and more was brought up, and he pushed it about apace; and then came up a leg of mutton, and I need not say that we ate heartily, being told several times that we should pay nothing. After supper was done, he bids my landlady ask if the boat was come? And she brought word no, it was not high water by a good deal. No! says he, well, then, give us some more punch; so more punch was brought in, and, as was afterwards confessed, something was put into it, or more brandy than ordinary, and by that time the punch was drunk out, we were all very drunk, and, as for me, I was asleep.

About the time that was out, we were told the boat was come; so we tumbled out, almost over one another, into the

boat, and away we went, and our captain in the boat. Most of us, if not all, fell asleep, till after some time, though how much, or how far going, we knew not, the boat stopped; and we were waked, and told we were at the ship's side, which was true; and with much help and holding us, for fear we should fall overboard, we were all gotten into the ship. All I remember of it was this, that as soon as we were on board, our captain, as we called him, called out thus: Here, boatswain, take care of these gentlemen, and give them good cabins, and let them turn in and go to sleep, for they are very weary; and so indeed we were, and very drunk too, being the first time I had ever drank punch in my life.

Well, care was taken of us according to order, and we were put into very good cabins, where we were sure to go immediately to sleep. In the meantime, the ship, which was indeed just ready to go, and only on notice given had come to an anchor for us at Shields, weighed, stood over the bar, and went off to sea; and when we waked, and began to peep abroad, which was not till near noon the next day, we found ourselves a great way at sea; the land in sight, indeed, but at a great distance, and all going merrily on for London, as we understood it. We were very well used, and well satisfied with our condition for about three days, when we began to inquire whether we were not almost come, and how much longer it would be before we should come into the river. What river? says one of the men. Why, the Thames, says my Captain Jack. The Thames! says the seaman; what do you mean by that? What, han't you had time enough to be sober yet? so Captain Jack said no more, but looked about him like a fool; when a while after, some other of us asked the like question; and the seamen, who knew nothing of the cheat, began to smell a trick; and turning to the other Englishman that came with us, Pray, says he, where do you fancy you are going, that you ask so often about it? Why to London,

says he, where should we be going? We agreed with the captain to carry us to London.

- Not with the captain, says he, I daresay; poor men, you are all cheated; and I thought so when I saw you come aboard with that kidnapping rogue Gilliman; poor men! adds he, you are all betrayed. Why, you are going to Virginia, and the ship is bound to Virginia.

The Englishman falls a storming and raving like a madman, and we gathering round him, let any man guess, if they can, what was our surprise, and how we were confounded, when we were told how it was. In short, we drew our swords, and began to lay about us, and made such a noise and hurry in the ship, that at last the seamen were obliged to call out for help. The captain commanded us to be disarmed in the first place, which was not, however, done without giving and receiving some wounds, and afterwards he caused us to be brought to him into the great cabin.

Here he talked very calmly to us, that he was really very sorry for what had befallen us; that he perceived we had been trepanned, and that the fellow who had brought us on board was a rogue, that was employed by a sort of wicked merchants not unlike himself; that he supposed he had been represented to us as captain of the ship, and asked us if it was not so? We told him yes, and gave him a large account of ourselves, and how we came to the woman's house to inquire for some master of a collier to get a passage to London, and that this man engaged to carry us to London in his own ship, and the like, as is related above.

He told us he was very sorry for it, and he had no hand in it; but it was out of his power to help us, and let us know very plainly what our condition was; namely, that we were put on board his ship as servants to be delivered at Maryland to such a man, whom he named to us; but that, however, if we would be quiet and orderly in the ship, he

would use us well in the passage, and take care we should be used well when we came there, and that he would do anything for us that lay in his power; but if we were unruly and refractory, we could not expect but he must take such measures as to oblige us to be satisfied; and that, in short, we must be handcuffed, carried down between the decks, and kept as prisoners, for it was his business to take care that no disturbance must be in the ship.

In short, we were all obliged to acquiesce; for we had no remedy but patience, and to be easy as we could.

We had a very good voyage, no storms all the way, and a northerly wind almost twenty days together; so that, in a word, we made the capes of Virginia in two-and-thirty days, from the day we steered west, which was in the latitude of 60 degrees 30 minutes, being to the north of the isle of Great Britain; and this, they said, was a very quick passage.

Nothing material happened to me during the voyage; and indeed, when I came there, I was obliged to act in so narrow a compass, that nothing very material could present itself.

I was now grown indifferent, for I considered all the way on the voyage, that as I was bred a vagabond, had been a pickpocket and a soldier, and was run from my colours, and that I had no settled abode in the world, nor any employ to get anything by, except that wicked one I was bred to, which had the gallows at the heels of it, I did not see but that this service might be as well to me as other business. And this I was particularly satisfied with, when they told me, that after I had served out the five years' servitude, I should have the courtesy of the country (as they called it), that is, a certain quantity of land to cultivate and plant for myself. So that now I was like to be brought up to something by which I might live without that wretched thing called stealing; which my very soul abhorred, and which I had given over, as I have said, ever since that

wicked time that I robbed the poor widow of Kentish-town.

Thus we parted with our captain or kidnapper, call him as you will. We were then delivered to the merchants to whom we were consigned, who again disposed of us as they thought fit; and in a few days we were separated.

As for my Captain Jack, to make short of the story, that desperate rogue had the good luck to have a very easy, good master, whose business and good humour he abused very much; and, in particular, took an opportunity to run away with a boat, which his master entrusted him and another with, to carry some provisions down the river to another plantation which he had there. This boat and provisions they ran away with, and sailed north to the bottom of the bay, as they call it, and into a river called Susquehanna, and there quitting the boat, they wandered through the woods, till they came to Pennsylvania, from whence they made shift to get passage to New-England, and from thence home; where falling in among his old companions, and to the old trade, he was at length taken and hanged, about a month before I came to London, which was near twenty years afterwards.

My part was harder at the beginning, though better at the latter end; I was disposed of, that is to say, sold, to a rich planter, whose name was Smith, and with me the other Englishman, who was my fellow-deserter, that Jack brought to me when we went off from Dumbarton.

We were now fellow-servants, and it was our lot to be carried up a small river or creek, which falls into Potomac river, about eight miles from the great river. Here we were brought to the plantation, and put in among about fifty servants, as well negroes as others; and being delivered to the head man, or director, or manager of the plantation, he took care to let us know that we must expect to work, and very hard too; for it was for that purpose his master

bought servants, and for no other. I told him, very submissively, that since it was our misfortune to come into such a miserable condition as we were in, we expected no other; only we desired we might be showed our business, and be allowed to learn it gradually, since he might be sure we had not been used to labour; and, I added, that when he knew particularly by what methods we were brought and betrayed into such a condition, he would perhaps see cause at least to show us that favour, if not more. This I spoke with such a moving tone, as gave him curiosity to inquire into the particulars of our story, which I gave him at large, a little more to our advantage too than ordinary.

This story, as I hoped it would, did move him to a sort of tenderness; but yet he told us that his master's business must be done, and that he expected we must work as above; that he could not dispense with that upon any account whatever. Accordingly, to work we went; and indeed we had three hard things attending us; namely, we worked hard, lodged hard, and fared hard. The first I had been an utter stranger to, the last I could shift well enough with.

It happened while I was here that a ship arrived from London with several servants, and among the rest were seventeen transported felons, some burnt in the hand, others not; eight of whom my master bought for the time specified in the warrant for their transportation respectively, some for a longer, some a shorter term of years.

Our master was a great man in the country, and a justice of peace, though he seldom came down to the plantation, where I was; yet, as the new servants were brought on shore, and delivered at our plantation, his worship came thither, in a kind of state, to see and receive them. When they were brought before him, I was called, among other servants, as a kind of guard, to take them into custody after he had seen them, and carry them to the work. They were

brought by a guard of seamen from the ship, and the second mate of the ship came with them, and delivered them to our master, with the warrant for their transportation, as above.

When his worship had read over the warrants, he called them over by their names, one by one, and having let them know, by his reading the warrants over again to each man respectively, that he knew for what offences they were transported, he talked to every one separately very gravely; let them know how much favour they had received in being saved from the gallows, which the law had appointed for their crimes; that they were not sentenced to be transported, but to be hanged, and that transportation was granted them upon their own request and humble petition.

Then he laid before them, that they ought to look upon the life they were just going to enter upon as just beginning the world again; that if they thought fit to be diligent and sober, they would, after the time they were ordered to serve was expired, be encouraged by the constitution of the country to settle and plant for themselves; and that even he himself would be so kind to them, that if he lived to see any of them serve their time faithfully out, it was his custom to assist his servants in order to their settling in that country, according as their behaviour might merit from him; and they would see and know several planters round about them, who now were in very good circumstances, and who formerly were only his servants, in the same condition with them, and came from the same place, that is to say, Newgate; and some of them had the mark of it in their hands, but were now very honest men and lived in very good repute.

Among the rest of his new servants, he came to a young fellow not above seventeen or eighteen years of age, and his warrant mentions that he was, though a young man, yet an old offender; that he had been several times condemned,

but had been respited or pardoned, but still he continued an incorrigible pickpocket; that the crime for which he was now transported, was for picking a merchant's pocket-book, or letter-case, out of his pocket, in which were bills of exchange for a very great sum of money; that he had afterwards received the money upon some of the bills, but that going to a goldsmith in Lombard-street with another bill, and having demanded the money, he was stopped, notice having been given of the loss of them; that he was condemned to die for the felony, and being so well known for an old offender, had certainly died, but the merchant, upon his earnest application, had obtained that he should be transported, on condition that he restored all the rest of his bills, which he had done accordingly.

Our master talked a long time to this young fellow; mentioned, with some surprise, that he so young should have followed such a wicked trade so long as to obtain the name of an old offender at so young an age; and that he should be styled incorrigible, which is to signify, that notwithstanding his being whipt two or three times, and several times punished by imprisonment, and once burnt in the hand, yet nothing would do him any good, but that he was still the same. He talked mighty religiously to this boy, and told him God had not only spared him from the gallows, but had now mercifully delivered him from the opportunity of committing the same sin again, and put it into his power to live an honest life, which perhaps he knew not how to do before; and though some part of his life now might be laborious, yet he ought to look on it to be no more than being put out apprentice to an honest trade, in which, when he came out of his time, he might be able to set up for himself and live honestly.

Then he told him, that while he was a servant he would have no opportunity to be dishonest, so when he came to be for himself he would have no temptation to it; and so after

a great many other kind things said to him and the rest, they were dismissed.

I was exceedingly moved at this discourse of our master's, as anybody would judge I must be, when it was directed to such a young rogue, born a thief, and bred up a pickpocket, like myself; for I thought all my master said was spoken to me, and sometimes it came into my head that sure my master was some extraordinary man, and he knew all things that ever I had done in my life.

But I was surprised to the last degree, when my master, dismissing all the rest of us servants, pointed at me, and speaking to his head clerk, Here, says he, bring that young fellow hither to me.

I had been near a year in the work, and I had plied it so well that the clerk, or head man, either flattered me, or did really believe that I behaved very well; but I was terribly frightened to hear myself called out aloud, just as they used to call for such as had done some misdemeanour, and were to be lashed or otherwise corrected.

I came in like a malefactor indeed, and thought I looked like one just taken in the fact, and carried before the justice; and indeed when I came in, for I was carried into an inner room, or parlour, in the house to him, (his discourse to the rest was in a large hall, where he sat in a seat like a lord judge upon the bench, or a petty king upon his throne); when I came in, I say, he ordered his man to withdraw, and I standing half naked, and bare-headed, with my haugh, or hoe, in my hand (the posture and figure I was in at my work), near the door, he bade me lay down my hoe and come nearer. Then he began to look a little less stern and terrible than I fancied him to look before, or, perhaps, both his countenance then and before might be to my imagination differing from what they really were; for we do not always judge those things by the real temper of the person, but by the measure of our apprehensions.

Hark ye, young man, how old are you ? says my master, and so our dialogue began.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I do not know.

Must. What is your name ?

Jack. They call me Colonel here, but my name is Jack, a'nt please your worship.

Must. But, prithee, what is thy name ?

Jack. Jack.

Must. What, is thy christian name then Colonel, and thy surname, Jack ?

Jack. Truly, sir, to tell your honour the truth, I know little or nothing of myself, nor what my true name is ; but thus I have been called ever since I remember ; which is my christian name, or which my surname, or whether I was ever christened or not, I cannot tell.

Must. Well, however, that's honestly answered. Pray, how came you hither, and on what account are you made a servant here ?

Jack. I wish your honour could have patience with me to hear the whole story ; it is the hardest and most unjust thing that ever came before you.

Must. Say you so ? tell it me at large then ; I'll hear it, I promise that, if it be an hour long.

This encouraged me, and I began at being a soldier, and being persuaded to desert at Dunbar, and gave him all the particulars, as they are related above, to the time of my coming on shore. He held up his hands several times as I went on, expressing his abhorrence of the usage I had met with at Newcastle, and inquired the name of the master of the ship ; for, said he, that captain, for all his smooth words, must be a rogue. So I told him his name, and the name of the ship, and he took it down in his book, and then we went on.

Must. But pray answer me, honestly too, to another ques-

tion, what was it made you so much concerned at my talking to the boy there, the pickpocket?

Jack. An't please your honour it moved me to hear you talk so kindly to a poor slave.

Mast. And was that all? speak truly now.

Jack. No, indeed, but a secret wish came into my thoughts, that you that were so good to such a creature as that, could but one way or other know my case, and that if you did, you would certainly pity me and do something for me.

Mast. Well, but was there nothing in his case that hit your own, that made you so affected with it, for I saw tears come from your eyes, and it was that made me call to speak to you.

Jack. Indeed, sir, I have been a wicked idle boy, and was left desolate in the world; but that boy is a thief, and condemned to be hanged; I never was before a court of justice in my life.

Mast. Well, I won't examine you too far; if you were never before a court of justice, and are not a criminal transported, I have nothing further to inquire of you. You have been ill used, that's certain.

After this conference I was dismissed and went to my work; but about two hours after, the steward, or the overseer of the plantation, came riding by, and coming up to me as I was at work, pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and calling me to him gave me a dram of rum; when, in good manners, I had taken but a little sup, he held it out to me again, and bade me take another; and spoke wondrous civilly to me, quite otherwise than he used to do.

This encouraged me, and heartened me very much, but yet I had no particular view of anything, or which way I should have any relief.

A day or two after, when we were all going out to our work in the morning, the overseer called me to him again.

and gave me a dram, and a good piece of bread, and bade me come off from my work about one o'clock, and come to him to the house, for he must speak with me.

When I came to him, I came to be sure in the ordinary habit of a poor half naked slave. Come hither, young man, says he, and give me your hoe. When I gave it him, Well, says he, you are to work no more in this plantation.

I looked surprised, and as if I was frightened. What have I done? sir, said I, and whither am I to be sent away?

Nay, nay, says he, and looked very pleasantly, do not be frightened, 'tis for your good, 'tis not to hurt you; I am ordered to make an overseer of you, and you shall be a slave no longer.

Alas! says I to him, I an overseer! I am in no condition for it, I have no clothes to put on, no linen, nothing to help myself.

Well, well, says he, you may be better used than you are aware of; come hither with me. So he led me into a vast great warehouse, or, rather, set of warehouses, one within another, and calling the warehouse-keeper, Here, says he, you must clothe this man, and give him everything necessary, upon the foot of number five, and give the bill to me; our master has ordered me to allow it in the account of the west plantation. That was, it seems, the plantation where I was to go.

Accordingly, the warehouse-keeper carried me into an inner warehouse, where were several suits of clothes of the sort his orders mentioned: which were plain, but good sorts of clothes, ready made, being of a good broadcloth, about 11s. a yard in England, and with this he gave me three good shirts, two pair of shoes, stockings and gloves, a hat, six neckcloths, and, in short, everything I could want; and when he had looked everything out, and fitted them, he lets me into a little room by itself. Here, says he, go in there a slave, and come out a gentleman; and with that

carried everything into the room, and, shutting the door, bid me put them on, which I did most willingly; and now you may believe that I began to hope for something better than ordinary.

In a little while after this came the overseer, and gave me joy of my new clothes, and told me I must go with him: so I was carried to another plantation, larger than that where I worked before, and where there were two overseers, or clerks; one within doors, and one without. This last was removed to another plantation, and I was placed there in his room, that is to say, as the clerk without doors, and my business was to look after the servants and negroes, and take care that they did their business, provide their food, and, in short, both govern and direct them.

I was elevated to the highest degree in my thoughts at this advancement, and it is impossible for me to express the joy of my mind upon this occasion; but there came a difficulty upon me, that shocked me so violently, and went so against my very nature, that I really had almost forfeited my place about it; and in all appearance, the favour of our master who had been so generous to me; and this was, that when I entered upon my office, I had a horse given me and a long horsewhip, like what we call in England a hunting-whip. The horse was to ride up and down all over the plantation, to see the servants and negroes did their work, and, the plantation being so large, it could not be done on foot, at least so often and so effectually as was required; and the horsewhip was given me to correct and lash the slaves and servants when they proved negligent or quarrelsome, or, in short, were guilty of any offence. This part turned the very blood within my veins, and I could not think of it with any temper, that I, who was but yesterday a servant or slave like them, and under the authority of the same lash, should lift up my hand to the cruel work which was my terror but the day before. This, I say, I could not

do; insomuch that the negroes perceived it, and I had soon so much contempt upon my authority; that we were all in disorder.

The ingratitude of their return for the compassion I showed them provoked me, I confess, and a little hardened my heart; and I began with the negroes, two of whom I was obliged to correct; and I thought I did it most cruelly; but after I had lashed them till every blow I struck them hurt myself, and I was ready to faint at the work, the rogues laughed at me, and one of them had the impudence to say, behind my back, that, if he had the whipping of me, he would show me better how to whip a negro.

Well, however, I had no power to do it in such a barbarous manner as I found it was necessary to have it done; and the defect began to be a detriment to our master's business, and now I began indeed to see that the cruelty so much talked of, used in Virginia and Barbadoes, and other colonies, in whipping the negro slaves, was not so much owing to the tyranny and passion and cruelty of the English as had been reported; the English not being accounted to be of a cruel disposition, and really are not so; but that it is owing to the brutality and obstinate temper of the negroes. But I began to see at the same time that this brutal temper of the negroes was not rightly managed; that they did not take the best course with them to make them sensible, either of mercy or punishment; and it was evident to me that even the worst of those tempers might be brought to a compliance without the lash, or at least without so much of it as they generally inflicted.

Our master was really a man of humanity himself, and was sometimes so full of tenderness that he would forbid the severities of his overseers and stewards; but he saw the necessity of it, and was obliged at last to leave it to the discretion of his upper servants; yet he would often bid them be merciful, and bid them consider the difference of

the constitution of the bodies of the negroes; some being less able to bear the tortures of their punishment than others, and some of them less obstinate too than others.

However, somebody was so officious as to inform him against me upon this occasion; and let him know that I neglected his affairs, and that the servants were under no government; by which means his plantation was not duly managed, and that all things were in disorder.

This was a heavy charge for a young overseer, and his honour came like a judge, with all his attendants, to look into things and hear the cause. However, he was so just to me, as that, before he censured me, he resolved to hear me fully, and that not only publicly but in private too; and the last part of this was my particular good fortune, for, as he had formerly allowed me to speak to him with freedom, so I had the like freedom now, and had full liberty to explain and defend myself.

I knew nothing of the complaint against me till I had it from his own mouth; nor anything of his coming till I saw him in the very plantation, viewing his work, and viewing the several pieces of ground that were ordered to be new planted; and after he had rode all round, and seen things in the condition which they were to be seen in; how everything was in its due order, and the servants and negroes were all at work; and everything appearing to his mind, he went into the house.

As I saw him come up the walks, I ran towards him, and made my homage, and gave him my humble thanks for the goodness he had showed me in taking me from the miserable condition I was in before, and employing and entrusting me in his business; and he looked pleasant enough, though he did not say much at first, and I attended him through the whole plantation, gave him an account of everything as he went along, answered all his objections and inquiries everywhere in such a manner as it seems he did not expect; and,

as he acknowledged afterwards, Everything was very much to his satisfaction.

There was an overseer, as I observed, belonging to the same plantation, who was, though not over me, yet in a work superior to mine; for his business was to see the tobacco packed up, and deliver it either on board the sloops, or otherwise, as our master ordered, and to receive English goods from the grand warehouse, which was at the other plantation, because that was nearest the water-side; and, in short, to keep the accounts.

This overseer, an honest and upright man, made no complaint to him of his business being neglected, as above, or of anything like it, though he inquired of him about it, and that very strictly too.

I should have said, that as he rid over the plantation, he came in his round to the place where the servants were usually corrected, when they had done any fault; and there stood two negroes, with their hands tied behind them, as it were under sentence; and when he came near them, they fell on their knees, and made pitiful signs to him for mercy. Alas, alas! says he, turning to me, why did you bring me this way? I do not love such sights. What must I do now? I must pardon them; prithee, what have they done? I told him the particular offences which they were brought to the place for: one had stole a bottle of rum, and had made himself drunk with it, and when he was drunk, had done a great many mad things, and had attempted to knock one of the white servants' brains out with a handspike; but that the white man had avoided the blow, and, striking up the negro's heels, had seized him, and brought him prisoner thither, where he had lain all night; and that I had told him he was to be whipped that day, and the next three days, twice every day.

And could you be so cruel? says his honour; why you would kill the poor wretch; and so, beside the blood which

you would have to answer for, you would lose me a lusty man negro, which cost me at least 30*l.* or 40*l.*; and bring a reproach upon my whole plantation; nay, and more than that, some of them in revenge would murder me, if ever it was in their power.

Sir, says I, if those fellows are not kept under by violence, I believe you are satisfied nothing is to be done with them; and it is reported in your works that I have been rather their jest than their terror, for want of using them as they deserve; and I was resolved, how much soever it is against my own disposition, that your service should not suffer for my unreasonable forbearance; and therefore, if I had scourged him to death — Hold, says he, no, no, by no means any such severity in my bounds. Remember, young man, you were once a servant; deal as you would acknowledge it would be just to deal with you in his case, and mingle always some mercy. I desire it, and let the consequence of being too gentle be placed to my account.

This was as much as I could desire, and the more, because what passed was in public, and several, both negroes and white servants, as well as the particular persons who had accused me, heard it all, though I did not know it. A cruel dog of an overseer, says one of the white servants behind, he would have whipped poor bullet-head (so they called the negro that was to be punished) to death, if his honour had not happened to come to-day.

However, I urged the notorious crime this fellow was guilty of, and the danger there was in such forbearance, from the refractory and incorrigible temper of the negroes, and pressed a little the necessity of making examples; but he said, Well, well, do it the next time, but not now; so I said no more.

The other fellow's crime was trifling compared with this; and the master went forward, talking of it to me, and I following him, till we came to the house; when, after he

had been sat down awhile, he called me to him; and, not suffering my accusers to come near till he had heard my defence, he began with me thus: —

Mast. Hark ye, young man, I must have some discourse with you. Your conduct is complained of since I set you over this plantation; I thought your sense of the obligation I had laid on you would have secured your diligence and faithfulness to me.

Jack. I am very sorry any complaint should be made of me, because the obligation I am under to your honour, and which I freely confess, does bind me to your interest in the strongest manner imaginable; and, however I may have mistaken my business, I am sure I have not willingly neglected it.

Mast. Well, I shall not condemn you without hearing you, and therefore I called you in now to tell you of it.

Jack. I humbly thank your honour; I have but one petition more, and that is, that I may know my accusation; and, if you please, my accusers.

Mast. The first you shall, and that is the reason of my talking to you in private; and if there is any need of a farther hearing, you shall know your accusers too. What you are charged with, is just contrary to what appeared to me just now, and therefore you and I must come to a new understanding about it, for I thought I was too cunning for you, and now I think you have been too cunning for me.

Jack. I hope your honour will not be offended that I do not fully understand you.

Mast. I believe you do not; come, tell me honestly, did you really intend to whip the poor negro twice a day for four days together, that is to say, to whip him to death, for that would have been the English of it, and the end of it.

Jack. If I may be permitted to guess, sir, I believe I know the charge that is brought against me; and that your honour has been told that I have been too gentle with

the negroes, as well as other servants; and that when they deserved to be used with the accustomed severity of the country, I have not given them half enough; and that by this means they are careless of your business, and that your plantation is not well looked after, and the like.

Mast. Well, you guess right; go on.

Jack. The first part of the charge I confess, but the last I deny; and appeal to your honour's strictest examination into every part of it.

Mast. If the last part could be true, I would be glad the first were; for it would be an infinite satisfaction to me, that, my business not being neglected, nor our safety endangered, those poor wretches could be used with more humanity; for cruelty is the aversion of my nature, and it is the only uncomfortable thing that attends me in all my prosperity.

Jack. I freely acknowledge, sir, that at first it was impossible for me to bring myself to that terrible work. How could I, that was but just come out of the terror of it myself, and had but the day before been a poor naked miserable servant myself, and might be to-morrow reduced to the same condition again; how could I use this (showing a horsewhip) terrible weapon on the naked flesh of my fellow-servants, as well as fellow-creatures? At least, sir, when my duty made it absolutely necessary, I could not do it without the utmost horror. I beseech you, pardon me if I have such a tenderness in my nature, that though I might be fit to be your servant, I am incapable of being an executioner, having been an offender myself.

Mast. Well, but how, then, can my business be done? and how will this terrible obstinacy of the negroes, who they tell me can be no otherwise governed, be kept from neglect of their work, or even insolence and rebellion?

Jack. This brings, me, sir, to the latter part of my defence; and here I hope your honour will be pleased to call

my accusers, or that you will give yourself the trouble of taking the exactest view of your plantation, and see, or let them show you, if anything is neglected—if your business has suffered in anything, or if your negroes or other servants are under less government than they were before; and if, on the contrary, I have found out that happy secret, to have good order kept, the business of the plantation done, and that with diligence and despatch, and that the negroes are kept in awe—the natural temper of them subjected, and the safety and peace of your family secured, as well by gentle means as by rough—by moderate correction as by torture and barbarity—by a due awe of just discipline as by the horror of unsufferable torments, I hope your honour will not lay that sin to my charge.

Mast. No, indeed, you would be the most acceptable manager that ever I employed; but how, then, does this consist with the cruel sentence you had passed on the poor fellow that is in your condemned hole yonder, who was to be whipped eight times in four days?

Jack. Very well, sir: first, sir, he remains under the terrible apprehensions of a punishment so severe as no negro ever had before. This fellow, with your leave, I intended to release to-morrow without any whipping at all, after talking to him in my way about his offence, and raising in his mind a sense of the value of pardon; and if this makes him a better servant than the severest whipping will do, then, I presume, you would allow I have gained a point.

Mast. Nothing can be more agreeable to me. Nothing has so much robbed me of the comfort of all my fortunes as the cruelty used in my name on the bodies of those poor slaves.

Jack. It is certainly wrong, sir: it is not only wrong as it is barbarous and cruel, but it is wrong too as it is the worst way of managing and of having your business done.

Mast. It is my aversion; it fills my very soul with horror. I believe if I should come by while they were using those cruelties on the poor creatures, I should either sink down at the sight of it, or fly into a rage and kill the fellow that did it, though it is done, too, by my own authority.

Jack. But, sir, I dare say I shall convince you also that it is wrong in respect of interest, and that your business shall be better discharged, and your plantations better ordered, and more work done by the negroes, who shall be engaged by mercy and lenity, than by those who are driven and dragged by the whips and the chains of a merciless tormentor.

Mast. Well, go on with your measures, and may you succeed; I'll promise you I will fully make you amends for it. I long to have these cruelties out of use, in my plantation especially; as for others, let them do as they will.

Our master being gone, I went to the prisoners, and first I suffered them to be told that the great master had been there, and that he had been inclined to pardon them, till he knew what their crime was; but then he said it was so great a fault that it must be punished; besides, the man that talked to them told them that the great master said, that he knew if he had pardoned them they would be but the worse, for that the negroes were never thankful for being spared, and that there were no other ways to make them obedient but by severity.

One of the poor fellows, more sensible than the other, answered, if any negro be badder for being kindly used, they should be whipped till they were muchee better; but that he never knew that, for that he never knew the negro be kindly use.

This was, indeed, but too true, for the overseers really knew no such thing as mercy; and that notion of the negroes being no other way to be governed but by cruelty,

had been the occasion that no other method was ever tried among them.

Well, I carried on the affair with these two negroes just as I had proposed, and they were delivered with infinite acknowledgments and thanks, even to all the extravagances of joy usual in those people on such occasions; and such was the gratitude of those two pardoned fellows, that they were the most faithful and most diligent servants ever after that belonged to the whole plantation.

In this manner I carried on the plantation fully to my master's satisfaction; and before a year more was expired, there was scarce any such thing as correction known in the plantation, except upon a few boys, who were incapable of the impressions that good usage would have made even upon them too, till they had lived to know the difference.

It was some time after this conference, that our great master, as we called him, sent for me again to his dwelling-house, and told me that he did not forget what he had promised, nor what I had done in his plantation; and that he was resolved in the first place to give me my liberty. So he pulls out a piece of paper, and throws it to me: There, says he, there's a certificate of your coming on shore, and being sold to me for five years, of which you have lived three with me, and now you are your own master. I bowed, and told him that I was sure if I was my own master, I would be his servant as long as he would accept of my service. And now we strained courtesies, and he told me I should be his servant still; but it should be on two conditions, 1st, that he would give me 30*l.* a year and my board, for my managing the plantation I was then employed in; and 2ndly, that at the same time he would procure me a new plantation to begin upon my own account. For, Colonel Jack, says he, smiling, though you are but a young man, yet 'tis time you were doing something for yourself.

I answered, that I could do little at a plantation for

myself, unless I neglected his business, which I was resolved not to do on any terms whatever; but that I would serve him faithfully; if he would accept of me, as long as he lived. So you shall, says he again, and serve yourself too. And thus we parted for that time.

I continued in this station between five and six years after this, and in all that time we had not one negro whipped, except, as I observed before, now and then an unlucky boy, and that only for trifles. I cannot say but we had some ill-natured, ungovernable negroes; but if at any time such offended, they were pardoned the first time, in the manner as above, and the second time were ordered to be turned out of the plantation; and this was remarkable, that they would torment themselves at the apprehension of being turned away, more by a great deal than if they had been to be whipped, for then they were only sullen and heavy: nay, at length we found the fear of being turned out of the plantation had as much effect to reform them, that is to say, make them more diligent, than any torture would have done; and the reason was evident, namely, because in our plantation they were used like men, in the otherlike dogs.

My master owned the satisfaction he took in this blessed change, as he called it, as long as he lived; and as he was so engaged by seeing the negroes grateful, he showed the same principle of gratitude to those that served him as he looked for in those that he served; and particularly to me, and so I come briefly to that part. The first thing he did after giving me my liberty as above, and making me an allowance, was to get the country bounty to me, that is to say, a quantity of land to begin and plant for myself.

But this he managed a way by himself; and, as I found afterwards, took up, that is, purchased in my name, about three hundred acres of land, in a more convenient place than it would have otherwise been allotted me; and this

he did by his interest with the lord proprietor; so that I had an extent of ground marked out to me, not next, but very near one of his own plantations. When I made my acknowledgment for this to him, he told me plainly that I was not beholden to him for it at all; for he did it that I might not be obliged to neglect his business for the carrying on my own, and on that account he would not reckon to me what money he paid, which, however, according to the custom of the country, was not a very great sum; I think about 40*l.* or 50*l.*

Thus he very generously gave me my liberty, advanced this money for me, put me into a plantation for myself, and gave me 30*l.* a year wages for looking after one of his own plantations.

But, colonel, says he to me, giving you this plantation is nothing at all to you, if I do not assist you to support it and to carry it on; and therefore I will give you credit for whatever is needful to you for the carrying it on; such as tools, provisions for servants, and some servants to begin; materials to build out-houses, and conveniences of all sorts for the plantation, and to buy hogs, cows, horses for stock, and the like.

This was highly obliging and very kind, and the more so, as it afterwards appeared. In order to this, he sent two servants of his own, who were carpenters; as for timber, boards, planks, and all sorts of such things, in a country almost all made of wood, they could not be wanting: these run me up a little wooden house in less than three weeks' time, where I had three rooms, a kitchen, an out-house, and two large sheds at a distance from the house, for store-houses, almost like barns, with stables at the end of them; and thus I was set up in the world, and, in short, removed by the degrees that you have heard, from a pick-pocket to a kidrapp'd miserable slave in Virginia (for Maryland is Virginia, speaking of them at a distance); then from a

slave to a head officer or overseer of slaves, and from thence to a master planter.

And now I began to increase visibly; I had a large quantity of land cured, that is, freed from timber, and a very good crop of tobacco in view; and I got three servants more and one negro, so that I had five white servants and two negroes, and with this my affairs went very well on.

And now I must impose a short digression on the reader, to note, that notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a most wretched education, yet now, when I began to feel myself, as I may say, in the world, and to be arrived to an independent state, and to foresee that I might be something considerable in time; I say, now I found different sentiments of things taking place in my mind; and first, I had a solid principle of justice and honesty, and a secret horror at things past, when I looked back upon my former life; that original something, I knew not what, that used formerly to check me in the first meannesses of my youth, and used to dictate to me when I was but a child, that I was to be a gentleman, continued to operate upon me now in a manner I cannot describe; and I continually remembered the words of the ancient glassmaker to the gentleman that he reprov'd for swearing, that to be a gentleman was to be an honest man; that without honesty, human nature was sunk and degenerated; the gentleman lost all the dignity of his birth, and plac'd himself even below an honest beggar. These principles growing upon my mind in the present circumstances I was in, gave me a secret satisfaction that I can give no description of. It was an inexpressible joy to me, that I was now like to be, not only a man, but an honest man; and it yielded me a greater pleasure that I was ransomed from being a vagabond, a thief, and a criminal, as I had been from a child, than that I was delivered from slavery, and the wretched state of a Virginia sold servant.

I considered my present state of life to be my mere youth,

though I was now above thirty years old, because in my youth I had learned nothing; and, if my daily business, which was now great, would have permitted, I would have been content to have gone to school. However, fate, that had yet something else in store for me, threw an opportunity into my hand; namely, a clever fellow, that came over a transported felon from Bristol, and fell into my hands for a servant. He had led a loose life, that he acknowledged, and being driven to extremities took to the highway, for which, had he been taken, he would have been hanged; but falling into some low-prized rogueries afterwards, for want of opportunity for worse, was caught, condemned, and transported, and, as he said, was glad he came off so.

He was an excellent scholar, and I perceiving it, asked him one time if he could give me a method how I might learn the Latin tongue? he said, smiling, Yes, he could teach it me in three months, if I would let him have books, or even without books, if he had time. I told him a book would become his hands better than a hoe; and if he could promise to make me but understand Latin enough to read it, and understand other languages by it, I would ease him of the labour which I was now obliged to put him to, especially if I was assured that he was fit to receive that favour of a kind master. In short, I made him to me what my benefactor made me to him, and from him I gained a fund of knowledge infinitely more valuable than the rate of a slave, which was what I had paid for it.

With these thoughts I went cheerfully about my work. As I had now five servants, my plantation went on, though gently, yet safely, and increased gradually, though slowly; but the third year, with the assistance of my old benefactor, I purchased two negroes more, so that now I had seven servants; and having cured land sufficient for supply of their food, I was at no difficulty to maintain them; so that my plantation began now to enlarge itself, and as I lived without any personal expense, but was maintained at my old great

master's, as we called him, and at his charge, with 30% a year besides, so all my gains were laid up for increase.

In this posture I went on for twelve years, and was very successful in my plantation, and had gotten, by means of my master's favour, whom now I called my friend, a correspondent in London, with whom I traded, shipped over my tobacco to him, and received European goods in return, such as I wanted to carry on my plantation, and sufficient to sell to others also.

In this interval my good friend and benefactor died, and I was left very disconsolate on account of my loss, for it was indeed a great loss to me; he had been a father to me, and I was like a forsaken stranger without him, though I knew the country and the trade too well enough, and had for some time chiefly carried on his whole business for him, yet I seemed now at a loss; my counsellor and my chief supporter was gone, and I had no confidant to communicate myself to on all occasions as formerly; but there was no remedy. I was, however, in a better condition to stand alone than ever; I had a very large plantation, and had near seventy negroes and other servants. In a word, I was grown really rich, considering my first circumstances, that began, as I may say, with nothing.

I was now a planter and also a student. My pedagogue I mentioned above was very diligent, and proved an extraordinary man indeed; he taught me not only with application, but with admirable judgment in the teaching part; for I have seen it in many instances since that time, that every good scholar is not fitted for a schoolmaster, and that the art of teaching is quite different from that of knowing the language taught.

But this man had both, and proved of great use to me and I found reason, in the worth of the person, to be very kind to him, his circumstances considered. I once took the liberty to ask him how it came to pass that he, who must

have had a liberal education, and great advantages to have advanced him in the world, should be capable of falling into such miserable circumstances as he was in when he came over. I used some caution in entering upon an inquiry, which, as I said, might not be pleasant to him to relate; but that I would make him amends by telling him, that if he desired not to enter into it with me, I would readily excuse him, and would not take it ill at all; this I did, because to a man under such afflictions one should always be tender, and not put them upon relating anything of themselves which was grievous to them, or which they had rather was concealed.

But he told me that it was true, that to look back upon his past life was indeed *renovare dolorem*; but that such mortifications were now useful to him, to help forward that repentance which he hoped he was sincerely entered upon; and that though it was with horror he looked back upon misspent time, and ill-applied gifts, which a bountiful Creator had blessed him with, and spared to him for a better improvement, yet he thought he ought to load himself with as much of the shame as it pleased God to make his lot, since he had already loaded himself with the guilt in a shameless manner; till God, he still hoped in mercy to him, had cut him short, and brought him to public disgrace, though he could not say he had been brought to justice, for then he had been sent into eternity in despair, and not been sent to Virginia, to repent of the wickedest life that ever man lived.—He would have gone on, but I found his speech interrupted by a passionate struggle within, between his grief and his tears.

I took no more notice of it than to tell him, that I was sorry I had asked him about it, but that it was my curiosity. When I saw that ignorant, untaught, untractable creatures come into misery and shame, I made no inquiry after their affairs; but when I saw men of parts and

learning take such steps, I concluded it must be occasioned by something exceeding wicked. So indeed, said he, the judge said to me when I begged mercy of him in Latin; he told me, that when a man with such learning falls into such crimes, he is more inexcusable than other men, because his learning recommending him, he could not want advantages, and had the less temptation to crimes.

But, sir, said he, I believe my case was what I find is the case of most of the wicked part of the world, viz., that to be reduced to necessity is to be wicked; for necessity is not only the temptation, but is such a temptation as human nature is not empowered to resist. How good then, says he, is that God, which takes from you, sir, the temptation, by taking away the necessity?

I was so sensible of the truth of what he said, knowing it by my own case, that I could not enter any further upon the discourse; but he went on voluntarily. This, sir, says he, I am so sensible of, that I think the case I am reduced to much less miserable than the life which I lived before, because I am delivered from the horrid necessity of doing such ill things, which was my ruin and disaster then, even for my bread, and am not now obliged to ravish my bread out of the mouths of others by violence and disorder; but am fed, though I am made to earn it by the hard labour of my hands, and I thank God for the difference. He paused here, but went on thus:

How much is the life of a slave in Virginia to be preferred to that of the most prosperous thief in the world! Here I live miserable, but honest; suffer wrong, but do no wrong; my body is punished, but my conscience is not loaded; and, as I used to say, that I had no leisure to look in, but I would begin when I had some recess, some time to spare; now God has found me leisure to repent. He run on in this manner a great while, giving thanks, I believe most heartily, for his being delivered from the

wretched life he had lived, though his misery were to be tenfold as much as it was.

I was sincerely touched with his discourse on this subject; I had known so much of the real difference of the case, that I could not but be affected with it, though till now, I confess, I knew little of the religious part. I had been an offender as well as he, though not altogether in the same degree, but I knew nothing of the penitence; neither had I looked back upon anything as a crime, but as a life dishonourable, and not like a gentleman, which ran much in my thoughts, as I have several times mentioned.

Well, but now, says I, you talk penitently, and I hope you are sincere; but what would be your case if you were delivered from the miserable condition of a slave sold for money, which you are now in? Should you not, think you, be the same man?

Blessed be God, says he, that if I thought I should, I would sincerely pray that I might not be delivered, and that I might for ever be a slave rather than a sinner.

Well but, says I, suppose you to be under the same necessity, in the same starving condition, should you not take the same course?

He replied very sharply, That shows us the need we have of the petition in the Lord's prayer, "lead us not into temptation;" and of Solomon's, or Agar's prayer, "give me not poverty, lest I steal." I should ever beg of God not to be left to such snares as human nature cannot resist. But I have some hope that I should venture to starve rather than to steal; but I also beg to be delivered from the danger, because I know not my own strength.

This was honestly spoken, indeed; and there really were such visible tokens of sincerity in all his discourse that I could not suspect him. On some of our discourses on this subject, he pulled out a little dirty paper-book, in which he had wrote down such a prayer in verse as I doubt few

Christians in the world could subscribe to; and I cannot but record it, because I never saw anything like it in my life; the lines are as follow:

Lord! whatsoever sorrows rack my breast,
Till crime removes too, let me find no rest;
How dark soe'er my state, or sharp my pain,
O! let not troubles cease, and sin remain.

For Jesus' sake remove not my distress,
Till free triumphant grace shall repossess
The vacant throne from whence my sins depart,
And make a willing captive of my heart;
Till grace completely shall my soul subdue,
Thy conquest full, and my subjection true.

There were more lines on the same subject, but these were the beginning; and these touching me so sensibly I have remembered them distinctly ever since, and have, I believe, repeated them to myself a thousand times.

I pressed him no more, you may be sure, after an answer so very particular and affecting as this was; it was easy to see the man was a sincere penitent, not sorrowing for the punishment he was suffering under; for his condition was no part of his affliction, he was rather thankful for it, as above; but his concern was a feeling and affecting sense of the wicked and abominable life he had led, the abhorred crimes he had committed both against God and man; and the little sense he had had of the condition he was in, and that even till he came to the place where he now was.

I asked him if he had no reflections of this kind after or before his sentence? He told me Newgate (for the prison at Bristol is called so, it seems, as well as that at London) was a place that seldom made penitents, but often made villains worse, till they learnt to defy God and devil. But that, however, he could look back with this satisfaction, that he could say he was not altogether insensible of it, even then;

but nothing that amounted to a thorough serious looking up to heaven; that he often indeed looked in, and reflected upon his past misspent life, even before he was in prison, when the intervals of his wicked practices gave some time for reflection, and he would sometimes say to himself, Whither am I going! to what will all these things bring me at last? and where will they end? sin and shame follow one another, and I shall certainly come to the gallows; then, said he, I would strike upon my breast, and say, O wicked wretch! when will you repent? and would answer myself as often, Never! never! never! except it be in a gaol or at a gibbet.

Then, said he, I would weep and sigh, and look back a little upon my wretched life, the history of which would make the world amazed; but alas! the prospect was so dark, and it filled me with so much terror, that I could not bear it; then I would fly to wine and company for relief; that wine brought on excess, and that company, being always wicked like myself, brought on temptation, and then all reflection vanished, and I was the same vile wretch as before.

He spoke this with so much affection, that his face was even smiling when he talked of it, and yet his eyes had tears standing in them at the same time, and all the time; for he had a delightful sorrow, if that be a proper expression in speaking of it.

This was a strange relation to me, and began to affect me after a manner that I did not understand. I loved to hear him talk of it, and yet it always left a kind of a dead lump behind it upon my heart, which I could give no reason for, nor imagine to what it tended; I had a heaviness on my soul, without being able to describe it, or to say what ailed me.

Well, he went on with his relation. After this, says he, I fell into the hands of a justice for a trifle; a piece of sport

in our crime ; and I, that for a hundred robberies, as well on the highway as otherwise, the particulars of which would fill a book to give an account of, ought, whenever I was taken, to be hanged in chains, and who, if it had been public, could not have failed of having twenty people come in against me, was privately hurried into a country gaol under a wrong name ; tried for a small fact, within benefit of clergy, and in which I was not principally guilty, and by this means obtained the favour of being transported.

And what, think you, said he, has most sensibly affected me, and brought on the blessed change that, I hope I may say, God has wrought in my soul ? Not the greatness of my crimes, but the wonders of that merciful providence, which, when it has mercy in store for a man, often brings him into the briars, into sorrow and misery for lesser sins, that men may be led to see how they are spared from the punishment due to them for the greater guilt which they know lies upon them. Do you think, that when I received the grant of transportation, I could be insensible what a miracle of divine goodness such a thing must be, to one who had so many ways deserved to be hanged, and must infallibly have died, if my true name had been known, or if the least notice had been given that it was such a notorious wretch as I that was in custody. There began the first motive of repentance ; for certainly the goodness of our great Creator in sparing us, when we forfeit our lives to his justice, and his merciful bringing us out of the miseries which we plunge ourselves into, when we have no way to extricate ourselves ; his bringing those very miseries to be the means of our deliverance, and working good to us out of evil, when we are working the very evil out of his good ; I say, these things are certainly the strongest motives to repentance that are in the world ; and the sparing thieves from the gallows certainly makes more penitents than the gallows itself.

It is true, continued he, that the terror of punishment works strongly upon the mind ; in view of death men are filled with horror of soul, and immediately they call that repentance which I doubt is too often mistaken, being only a kind of anguish in the soul, which breeds a grief for the punishment that is to be suffered ; an amazement founded upon the dreadful view of what is to follow. But the sense of mercy is quite another thing ; this seizes all the passions and all the affections, and works a sincere unfeigned abhorrence of the crime, as a crime ; as an offence against our Benefactor, as an act of baseness and ingratitude to him who has given us life, and all the blessings and comforts of life ; and who has conquered us by continuing to do us good, when he has been provoked to destroy us. . . .

As I had no education but as you have heard, so I had had no instruction, no knowledge of religion, or indeed of the meaning of it ; and though I was now in a kind of search after religion, it was a mere looking, as it were, into the world to see what kind of a thing or place it was, and what had been done in it ; but as to him that made it, there had truly been scarce a creature among all that he had made, with souls in them, that were so entirely without the knowledge of God as I was, and made so little inquiry about it.

But the serious, affectionate discourse of this young man began to have different effects upon me, and I began to say to myself, This man's reflections are certainly very just : But what a creature am I, and what have I been doing ! I that never once did this in all my life ; that never said so much as, God, I thank thee for all that I have been saved from, or all that I have been brought to in this world ; and yet my life has been as full of variety, and I have been as miraculously delivered from dangers and mischiefs, and as many of them as ever he has ; and if it has all been brought to pass by an invisible hand in mercy to me, what

have I been doing! and where have I lived! that I only should be the most thoughtless and unthankful of all God's creatures!

This article of gratitude struck deep, and lay heavy upon my mind; I remembered that I was grateful to the last degree to my old master, who had raised me from my low condition, and that I loved the very name of him, or, as might be said, the very ground he trod on; but I had not so much as once thought of any higher obligation, no, nor so much as, like the Pharisee, had said once, "God, I thank thee," to him for all the influence which his providence must have had in my whole affair.

It occurred to me presently, that if none of all these things befall us without the direction of a Divine Power, as my new instructor had told me at large, and that God had ordered everything, the most minute and least transaction of life, inasmuch "that not a hair of our head shall fall to the ground without his permission;" I say, it occurred to me, that I had been a most unthankful dog to that Providence that had done so much for me; and the consequence of the reflection was immediately this, how justly may that power, so disobliged, take away again his wool and his flax, with which I am now clothed, and reduce me to the misery of my first circumstances.

This perplexed me much, and I was very pensive and sad; which, however, my new instructor was a constant comfort to me, and I learned every day something or other from him; upon which I told him one morning that I thought he must leave off teaching me Latin, and teach me religion.

He spoke with a great deal of modesty of his being incapable of informing me of anything that I did not know, and proposed to me to read the scriptures every day, as the sure and only fund of instruction. I answered in the words of the eunuch to St. Philip, when the apostle asked

him if he understood what he read; "How can I, unless some one guide me?"

We talked frequently upon this subject, and I found so much reason to believe he was a sincere convert, that I can speak of him as no other in all I have to say of him. However, I cannot say my thoughts were yet ripened for an operation of that kind; I had some uneasiness about my past life, and I lived now, and had done so before I knew him, a very regular sober life, always taken up in my business, and running into no excesses; but as to commencing penitent, as this man had done, I cannot say I had any convictions upon me sufficient to bring it on, nor had I a fund of religious knowledge to support me in it; so it wore off again gradually, as such things generally do, where the first impressions are not deep enough.

In the meantime, as he read over long lectures of his own disasters to me, and applied them all seriously to me, so our discourse was always very solid and weighty, and we had nothing of levity between us, even when we were not concerned in religious discourses. He read history to me; and, where books were wanting, he gave me ideas of those things which had not been recorded by our modern histories, or at least, that our number of books would not reach. By these things he raised an unquenchable thirst in me, after seeing some thing that was doing in the world; and the more, because all the world was at that time engaged, more or less, in the great war, wherein the French king might be said to be engaged with and against all the powers of Europe.

Now, I looked upon myself as one buried alive in a remote part of the world, where I could see nothing at all, and hear but a little of what was seen, and that little not till at least half a year after it was done, and sometimes a year or more; and, in a word, the old reproach often came in the way, namely, that even this was not yet the life of a gentleman.

It was true, that this was much nearer to it than that of a pickpocket, and still nearer than that of a sold slave; but in short, this would not do, and I could receive no satisfaction in it. I had now a second plantation, a very considerable one, and it went forward very well. I had on it almost a hundred servants already of sundry sorts, and an overseer that I had a great deal of reason to say I might depend upon, and but that I had a third in embryo, and newly begun, I had nothing to hinder me from going where I pleased.

However, I now began to frame my thoughts for a voyage to England, resolving then to act as I should see cause, but with a secret resolution to see more of the world if possible, and realize those things to my mind which I had hitherto only entertained remote ideas of by the help of books.

Accordingly I pushed forward the settlement of my third plantation, in order to bring it to be in a posture, either to be let to a tenant, or left in trust with an overseer; as I should find occasion.

Had I resolved to leave it to an overseer, or steward, no man in the world could have been fit for it like my tutor; but I could not think of parting with him who was the cause of my desire of travelling, and whom I concluded to make my partner in my travels.

It was three years after this before I could get things in order, fit for my leaving the country. In this time I delivered my tutor from his bondage, and would have given him his liberty, but to my great disappointment, I found that I could not empower him to go for England till his time was expired, according to the certificate of his transportation, which was registered; so I made him one of my overseers, and thereby raised him gradually to a prospect of living in the same manner, and by the like steps that my good benefactor raised me, only that I did not assist him to enter upon planting for himself as I was assisted, neither

was I upon the spot to do it; but this man's diligence and honest application, even unassisted, delivered himself, any farther than, as I say, by making him an overseer, which was only a present ease and deliverance to him, from the hard labour and fare which he endured as a servant.

When I came to look nearer into the voyage, it occurred to me that it would not be prudent to put my cargo all on board the same ship that I went in; so I shipped at several times five hundred hogsheds of tobacco in several ships for England, giving notice to my correspondent in London that I would embark about such a time to come over myself; and ordering him to insure for a considerable sum, proportioned to the value of my cargo.

About two months after this I left the place, and embarked for England in a stout ship, carrying twenty-four guns, and about six hundred hogsheds of tobacco, and we left the capes of Virginia on the 1st of August. We had a very sour and rough voyage for the first fortnight, though it was in a season so generally noted for good weather.

When I came to London, I was very well received by my friend, to whom I had consigned my effects, and I found myself in very good circumstances; for all my goods, which, as above, by several ships, I had consigned to him, came safe to hand; and my overseers that I had left behind, had shipped four hundred hogsheds of tobacco to my correspondent in my absence, being the product of my plantation, or part of it; so that I had above 1000*l.* in my factor's hands, two hundred hogsheds of tobacco besides left in hand, not sold.

I had nothing to do now, but entirely to conceal myself from all that had any knowledge of me before, and this was the easiest thing in the world to do; for I was grown out of everybody's knowledge, and most of those I had known were grown out of mine. My captain, who went with me, or, rather, who carried me away, I found by inquiring at

the proper place, had been rambling about the world, came to London, fell into his own trade, which he could not forbear, and growing an eminent highwayman, had made his exit at the gallows, after a life of fourteen years most exquisite and successful rogueries, the particulars of which would make, as I observed, an admirable history. My other brother Jack, whom I called major, followed the like wicked trade, but was a man of more gallantry and generosity; and having committed innumerable depredations upon mankind, yet had always so much dexterity as to bring himself off, till at length he was laid fast in Newgate, and loaded with irons, and would certainly have gone the same way as the captain, but he was so dexterous a rogue, that no gaol, no fetters, would hold him; and he, with two more, found means to knock off their irons, worked their way through the wall of the prison, and let themselves down on the outside in the night; so escaping they found means to get into France, where he followed the same trade, and with so much success, that he grew famous by the name of Anthony, and had the honour, with three of his comrades, whom he had taught the English way of robbing generously, as they called it, without murdering or wounding, or ill-using those they robbed, I say, he had the honour to be broke upon the wheel at the Grève in Paris.

All these things I found means to be fully informed of, and to have a long account of the particulars of their conduct, from some of their comrades who had the good fortune to escape, and who I got the knowledge of, without letting them so much as guess at who I was, or upon what account I inquired.

I was now at the height of my good fortune; indeed I was in very good circumstances, and being of a frugal temper from the beginning, I saved things together as they came, and yet lived very well too; particularly I had the reputation of a very considerable merchant, and one that

came over vastly rich from Virginia; and as I frequently bought supplies for my several families and plantations there, as they wrote to me for them, so I passed, I say, for a great merchant.

After some three years spent in this manner, I resolved to go over to France, and accordingly I came to Dunkirk in the year 1700, and here I fell into company with some Irish officers of the regiment of Dillon, who by little and little entered me into the army, and by the help of Lieutenant-General Connor, an Irishman, and some money, I obtained a company in his regiment, and so went into the army directly.

I was exceedingly pleased with my new circumstances, and now I used to say to myself, I was come to what I was born to, and that I had never till now lived the life of a gentleman.

Our regiment, after I had been some time in it, was commanded into Italy, and one of the most considerable actions that I was in was the famous attack upon Cremona, in the Milanese, where the Germans, being privately and by treachery let into the town in the night through a kind of common sewer, surprised the town, and got possession of the greatest part of it, surprising the Mareschal Duke de Villeroy, and taking him prisoner as he came out of his quarters, and beating the French troops which were left in the citadel; but were in the middle of their victory, so boldly and resolutely attacked by two Irish regiments who were quartered in the street leading to the river Po, and who kept possession of the water-gate or Po gate of the town by which the German reinforcements should have come in, that, after a most desperate fight, the Germans had their victory wrung out of their hands, and, not being able to break through us to let in their friends, were obliged at length to quit the town again, to the eternal honour of those Irish regiments, and indeed of their whole

nation, and for which we had a very handsome compliment from the King of France.

The summer after this, our two Irish regiments were drawn out into the field, and had many a sore brush with the Germans; for Prince Eugene, a vigilant general, gave us little rest, and gained many advantages by his continual moving up and down, harassing his own men and ours too; and whoever will do the French justice, and knew how they behaved, must acknowledge they never declined the Germans, but fought them upon all occasions with the utmost resolution and courage; and, though it cost the blood of an infinite number of fine gentlemen, as well as private soldiers, yet the Duke de Vendôme, who now commanded, though King Philip was himself in the army this campaign, made the Prince of Savoy a full return in his own kind, and drove him from post to post, till he was just at the point of quitting the whole country of Italy. All that gallant army Prince Eugene brought with him into Italy, which was the best, without doubt, for the goodness of the troops, that ever were there, laid their bones in that country, and many thousands more after them, till the affairs of France declining in other places, they were forced in their turn to give way to their fate, as may be seen in the histories of those times; but it is none of my business.

The part that I bore in these affairs was but short and sharp; we took the field about the beginning of July 1722, and the Duke de Vendôme ordered the whole army to draw the sooner together, in order to relieve the city of Mantua, which was blocked up by the imperialists.

Prince Eugene was a politic and indeed a fortunate prince, and had the year before pushed our army upon many occasions; but his good fortune began to fail him a little this year, for our army was not only more numerous than his, but the duke was in the field before him; and, as the prince had held Mantua closely blocked up all the

winter; the duke resolved to leave the town, cost what it would. As I said, the duke was first in the field: the prince was in no condition to prevent his raising the blockade by force, so he drew off his troops; and, leaving several strong bodies of troops to protect Bersello, which the Duke de Vendôme threatened, and Borgo Fort, where his magazine lay, he drew all the rest of his forces together to make head against us. By this time the King of Spain was come into the army, and the Duke de Vendôme lay with about thirty-five thousand men near Luzara, which he had resolved to attack to bring Prince Eugène to a battle; the Prince of Vaudemont lay intrenched with twenty thousand more at Rivalto, behind Mantua, to cover the frontiers of Milan, and there were near twelve thousand in Mantua itself; and Monsieur Pracontal lay with ten thousand men just under the cannon of one of the forts which guard the causeway which leads into the city of Mantua: so that had all these joined, as they would have done in a few days more, the prince must have been put to his shifts, and would have had enough to do to have maintained himself in Italy; for he was master of no one place in the country that could have held out a formal siege of fifteen days, and he knew all this very well; and therefore, it seems, while the Duke of Vendôme resolved if possible to bring him to a battle, and to that end made dispositions to attack Luzara, ~~we~~ ^{we} were surprised to find, the 15th of June 1702, the whole imperial army appeared in battalia and in full march to attack us.

As it happened, our army was all marching in columns towards them, as we had done for two days before; and I should have told you, that three days before, the duke having notice that General Visconti, with three imperial regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, was posted at San-Victoria, on the Tessona, he resolved to attack them; and this design was carried so secretly, that while Monsieur

Visconti, though our army was three leagues another way, was passing towards the Modenese, he found himself unexpectedly attacked by six thousand horse and dragoons of the French army. He defended himself very bravely for near an hour; when being overpowered, and finding he should be forced into disorder, he sounded a retreat; but the squadrons had not faced about to make their retreat scarce a quarter of an hour, when they found themselves surrounded with a great body of infantry, who had entirely cut off their retreat, except over the bridge of Tassona, which being thronged with their baggage, they could neither get backward or forward; so they thrust and tumbled over one another in such a manner, that they could preserve no kind of order; but abundance fell into the river, and were drowned, many were killed, and more taken prisoners; so that in a word, the whole three regiments of horse, and one of dragoons, were entirely defeated.

This was a great blow to the prince, because they were some of the choicest troops of his whole army. We took about four hundred prisoners, and all their baggage, which was a very considerable booty, and about eight hundred horses; and no doubt these troops were very much wanted in the battle that ensued on the 15th, as I have said. Our army being in full march, as above, to attack Luzara, a party of Germans appeared, being about six hundred horse, and in less than an hour more, their whole army, in order of battle.

Our army formed immediately, and the duke posted the regiments as they came up, so much to their advantage, that Prince Eugene was obliged to alter his dispositions, and had this particular inconvenience upon his hands, viz. to attack an army superior to his own, in all their most advantageous posts; whereas, had he thought fit to have waited but one day, we should have met him half way: but this was owing to the pride of the German generals, and their being so

opinionated of the goodness of their troops. The royal army was posted with the left to the great river Po, on the other side of which the prince of Vandemoht's army lay cannonading the intrenchments which the imperialists had made at Borgo Fort; and hearing that there was like to be a general battle, he detached twelve battalions and about a thousand horse, to reinforce the royal army; all which, to our great encouragement, had time to join the army, while Prince Eugene was making his new dispositions for the attack; and yet it was the coming of these troops which caused Prince Eugene to resolve to begin the fight, expecting to have come to an action before they could come up; but he was disappointed in the reason of fighting, and yet was obliged to fight too, which was an error in the prince that it was too late to retrieve.

It was five o'clock in the evening before he could bring up his whole line to engage; and then, after having cannonaded us to no great purpose for half an hour, his right, commanded by the Prince de Commercy attacked our left wing with great fury. Our men received them so well, and seconded one another so punctually, that they were repulsed with a very great slaughter, and the Prince de Commercy being, unhappily for them, killed in the first onset, the regiments, for want of orders, and surprised with the fall of so great a man, were pushed into disorder, and one whole brigade was entirely broke.

But their second line advancing, under General Herbéville, restored things in the first; the battalions rallied, and they came boldly on to charge a second time, and being seconded with new reinforcements from their main body, our men had their turn, and were pushed to a canal, which lay on their left flank, between them and the Po, behind which they rallied, and being supported by new troops, as well horse as foot, they fought on both sides with the utmost obstinacy, and with such courage and skill, that it was not possible to

judge who should have had the better, could they have been able to have fought it out.

On the right of the royal army, was posted the flower of the French cavalry; namely, the gendarmes, the royal carabineers, and the queen's horse-guards, with four hundred horse more, and next them the infantry, among which were our brigade; the horse advanced first to charge, and they carried all before them sword in hand, receiving the fire of two imperial regiments of cuirassiers, without firing a shot, and falling in among them, bore them down by the strength of their horses, putting them into confusion, and left so clear a field for us to follow, that the first line of our infantry stood drawn up upon the ground which the enemy at first possessed.

In this first attack the Marquis de Crequi, who commanded the whole right wing, was killed; a loss which fully balanced the death of the Prince de Commercy, on the side of the Germans. After we had thus pushed the enemy's cavalry as above, their troops, being rallied by the dexterity of their generals, and supported by three imperial regiments of foot, came on again to the charge with such fury, that nothing could withstand them; and here two battalions of our Irish regiments were put into disorder, and abundance of our men killed; and here also I had the misfortune to receive a musket shot, which broke my left arm; and that was not all, for I was knocked down by a giant-like German soldier, who, when he thought he had killed me, set his foot upon me, but was immediately shot dead by one of my men, and fell just upon me, which, my arm being broken, was a very great mischief to me; for the very weight of the fellow, who was almost as big as a horse, was such, that I was not able to stir.

Our men were beaten back after this, from the place where they stood; and so I was left in possession of the enemy, but was not their prisoner, that is to say, was not found, till

next morning, when a party being sent, as usual, with surgeons to look after the wounded men, among the dead, found me almost smothered with the dead German, and others that lay near me : however, to do them justice, they used me with humanity, and the surgeons set my arm very skilfully and well ; and four or five days after, I had liberty to go to Parma upon parole.

Both the armies continued fighting, especially on our left, till it was so dark that it was impossible to know who they fired at, or for the generals to see what they did ; so they abated firing gradually, and, as it may be truly said, the night parted them.

Both sides claimed the victory, and both concealed their losses as much as it was possible ; but it is certain that never battle was fought with greater bravery and obstinacy than this was ; and had there been daylight to have fought it out, doubtless there would have been many thousand more men killed on both sides.

All the Germans had to entitle them to the victory was, that they made our left retire, as I have said, to the canal, and to the high banks, or mounds on the edge of the Po : but they had so much advantage in the retreat — they fired from thence among the thickest of the enemy, and could never be forced from their posts.

The best testimony the royal army had of the victory, and which was certainly the better of the two, was, that, two days after the fight, they attacked Guastalla, as it were in view of the German army, and forced the garrison to surrender, and to swear not to serve again for six months, which, they being fifteen hundred men, was a great loss to the Germans, and yet Prince Eugene did not offer to relieve it ; and after that we took several other posts, which the imperialists had possession of, but were obliged to quit them upon the approach of the French army, not being in a condition to fight another battle that year.

My campaign was now at an end, and though I came lame off, I came off much better than abundance of gentlemen; for in that bloody battle we had above four hundred officers killed or wounded, whereof three were general officers.

I had now a secret design to quit the war, for I really had had enough of fighting; but it was counted so dishonourable a thing to quit, while the army was in the field, that I could not dispense with it; but an intervening accident made that part easy to me: the war was now renewed between France and England, and Holland, just as it was before; and the French king meditating nothing more than how to give the English a diversion, fitted out a strong squadron of men-of-war and frigates, at Dunkirk, on board of which he embarked a body of troops, of about six thousand five hundred men, besides volunteers; and the new king, as we called him, though more generally he was called the Chevalier de St. George, was shipped along with them, and all for Scotland.

I pretended a great deal of zeal for this service, and that if I might be permitted to sell my company in the Irish regiment I was in, and have the chevalier's brevet for a colonel, in case of raising troops for him in Great Britain, after his arrival, I would embark volunteer, and serve at my own expense. The latter gave me a great advantage with the chevalier: for now I was esteemed as a man of consideration, and one that must have a considerable interest in my own country; so I obtained leave to sell my company, and having had a good round sum of money remitted me from London, by the way of Holland, I prepared a very handsome equipage, and away I went to Dunkirk to embark.

I was very well received by the chevalier; and, as he had an account that I was an officer in the Irish brigade, and had served in Italy, and consequently was an old soldier, and this added to the character which I had before, and made me have a great deal of honour paid me, though at the same

time I had no particular attachment to his person, or to his cause; nor indeed did I much consider the cause of one side or other; if I had, I should hardly have risked, not my life only, but effects too, which were all, as I might say, from that moment, forfeited to the English government, and were too evidently in their power to confiscate at their pleasure.

However, having just received a remittance from London of 300*l.* sterling, and sold my company in the Irish regiment for very near as much, I was not only insensibly drawn in, but was perfectly volunteer in that dull cause, and away I went with them at all hazards; it belongs very little to my history to give an account of that fruitless expedition, only to tell you, that, being so closely and effectually chased by the English fleet, which was superior in force to the French, I may say, that in escaping them, I escaped being hanged.

It was the good fortune of the French, that they overshot the port they aimed at, and intending for the frith of Forth, or, as it is called the frith of Edinburgh, the first land they made was as far north as a place called Montrose, where it was not their business to land, and so they were obliged to come back to the frith, and were gotten to the entrance of it, and came to an anchor for the tide; but this delay or hinderance gave time to the English, under Sir George Bing, to come to the frith, and they came to an anchor, just as we did, only waiting to go up the frith with the flood.

Had we not overshot the port, as above, all our squadron had been destroyed in two days, and all we could have done, had been to have gotten into the pier or haven at Leith, with the smaller frigates, and have landed the troops and ammunition; but we must have set fire to the men-of-war, for the English squadron was not above twenty-four hours behind us, or thereabout.

Upon this surprise, the French admiral set sail from the north point of the frith, where we lay, and, crowding away to the north, got the start of the English fleet, and made their escape, with the loss of one ship only, which being behind the rest, could not get away. When we were satisfied the English left chasing us, which was not till the third night, when we altered our course, and lost sight of them, we stood over to the coast of Norway, and keeping that shore on board all the way to the mouth of the Baltic, we came to an anchor again, and sent two scouts abroad to learn news, to see if the sea was clear, and being satisfied that the enemy did not chase us, we kept on with an easier sail, and came all back again to Dunkirk, and glad I was to set my foot on shore again; for all the while we were thus flying for our lives, I was under the greatest terror imaginable, and nothing but halters and gibbets run in my head, concluding, that if I had been taken, I should certainly have been hanged.

And now I thought heaven summoned me to retire to Virginia, the place, and, as I may say, the only place, I had been blessed at, or had met with anything that deserved the name of success in, and where, indeed, my affairs being in good hands, the plantations were increased to such a degree, that some years my return here made up eight hundred pounds, and one year almost a thousand.

I embarked for Virginia in the year 1711, at the town of Liverpool, and had a tolerable voyage thither, only that we met with a pirate ship, in the latitude of 48 degrees, who plundered us of everything they could come at; that was for their turn, that is, to say, provisions, ammunition, small arms, and money; but, to give the rogues their due, though they were the most abandoned wretches that were ever seen, they did not use us ill; and as to ~~the~~ loss, it was not considerable, the cargo which I had on board was in goods, and was of no use to them; nor could they come

at those things without rummaging the whole ship, which they did not think worth their while.

I found all my affairs in very good order at Virginia, my plantations prodigiously increased, and my manager who first inspired me with travelling thoughts, and made me master of any knowledge worth naming, received me with a transport of joy, after a ramble of many years.

I ought to remember it, to the encouragement of all faithful servants, that he gave me an account, which, I believe, was critically just, of the whole affairs of the plantations, each by themselves, and balanced in years, every year's produce being fully transmitted, charges deducted, to my order at London.

I was exceedingly satisfied, as I had good reason indeed, with his management; and with his management, as much in its degree, of his own, I can safely say it. He had improved a very large plantation of his own at the same time, which he began upon the foot of the country's allowance of land, and the encouragement he had from me.

There remains many things in the course of this unhappy life of mine, though I have left so little a part of it to speak of, that is worth giving a large and distinct account of, and which gives room for just reflections of a kind which I have not made yet; particularly, I think it just to add how, in collecting the various changes, and turns of my affairs, I saw clearly, than ever I had, long before, how an invincible overruling power a hand influenced from above, governs all our actions of every kind, limits all our designs, and orders the events of everything relating to us.

I, who had hitherto lived, as might be easily said, without God in the world, began now to see farther into all those things than I had ever been yet capable of before, and this brought me at last to look with shame and blushes upon such a course of wickedness, as I had gone through in the world.

But here I had, as I said, leisure to reflect, and to repent, and to call to mind things past, and with a just detestation learn; as Job says, to abhor myself in dust and ashes.

It is with this temper that I have written my story. I would have all that design to read it, prepare to do so with the temper of penitents; and remember with how much advantage they make their penitent reflections at home under the merciful dispositions of Providence in peace, plenty, and ease, rather than abroad, under the discipline of a transported criminal, or under the miseries and distresses of a shipwrecked wanderer, or in exile, however favourably circumstanced as mine.

Such, I say, may repent with advantage; but how few are they that seriously look in, till their way is hedged up, and they have no other way to look.

Here, I say, I had leisure to repent. How far it pleases God to give the grace of repentance where he gives the opportunity of it, is not for me to say of myself; it is sufficient that I recommend it to all that read this story, that when they find their lives come up in any degree to any similitude of cases, they will inquire by me, and ask themselves, is not this the time to repent? Perhaps the answer may touch them.

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